

Introduction

KONSTANTIN DOULAMIS
University College Cork

This collection of articles originated in the colloquium ‘The Ancient Novel and its Reception of Earlier Literature’, which was held at University College Cork in August 2007, with funding from UCC’s Faculty of Arts and the Classics Department. As the conference theme indicates, the purpose of that two-day event was to explore the reception of antecedent literature in Greek and Roman narratives, to consider ways in which earlier texts are assimilated in prose fiction, and to reflect on the implications that this assimilation may have for our understanding of the works discussed. The colloquium, which comprised papers on a variety of texts, from the ‘canonical’ Greek romances and the Roman novels to *Alexander’s Letter about India* and the *Alexander Romance*, gave birth to stimulating discussions, both in and out of conference sessions, in a relaxed yet productive ambience of fruitful academic exchange, constructive criticism and collegiality, and yielded some interesting conclusions.

The following are some of the main questions that were raised and debated during the colloquium: Is the ancient novel distinctive in its reception of earlier literary production? To what extent can we talk of a ‘sociology of reception’? Can intertextuality in the Greek and Roman narratives be used in order to define a specific type of reader or social model? What role does the author of a text play in all this? Should emphasis be placed on authorial intent or on textual relations? The revised version of the nine conference papers collected here explore these and other similar broad questions, focusing on various types of literary echoes in ancient narratives.

Intertextuality¹ has been recognised as an important feature of ancient prose fiction and yet it has only received sporadic attention in modern scholarship, despite the recent explosion of interest in the ancient novels. This

¹ This is not the place to discuss the history of intertextuality. For a concise introduction to intertextual theory, see Allen 2000.

may come as less of a surprise if one takes into account that, until recently, the intertextuality of the genre had too often been associated with the origins of the novel, which is also pointed out in John Morgan's and Stephen Harrison's recent synoptic view of the subject.²

The overall aim of this volume is to make a contribution towards filling this gap by drawing attention to, and throwing fresh light on, the presence in Imperial prose fiction of earlier literary echoes. And while one volume is by no means sufficient to remedy the problem of the relative lack of scholarship on the topic, nevertheless it is hoped that the present collection of articles will create scope for debate and will generate greater scholarly interest in this area. In what follows I shall first outline the argument of each essay by way of introduction, highlighting some of the main questions raised in each contribution, and then I shall bring out the link between individual topics and the overarching theme of this volume.

In their chapter 'Less than Ideal Paradigms in the Greek Novel', Koen De Temmerman and Kristoffel Demoen look at ways in which well-known mythological, literary and historical paradigms from earlier literature inform the characterisation of certain protagonists in the Greek novels, especially in relation to the construction of *sōphrosynē*. Concerning the paradigms that underlie some of the main characters in the novels by Xenophon of Ephesus, Chariton, and Achilles Tatius, the authors argue that sometimes there is noticeable distance between the original meaning of the paradigm and the meaning that it acquires in the context of its evocation in the narrative concerned. What is more, the function that the paradigm has for one or more characters within the story and the way it is understood and interpreted by the reader do not always coincide either. The chapter concludes that interplay between *Eigenbedeutung* and *Erstbedeutung* and between the key function and argument function that these paradigms evoke makes problematic an 'idealistic' reading of the protagonists and shows that, at least in that respect, the Greek novels in question may not be as 'ideal' as they are often assumed to be.

Konstantin Doulamis' chapter 'Forensic Oratory and Rhetorical Theory in Chariton Book 5' is concerned with the use of rhetoric in Chariton's novel. Examining the rhetorical speeches delivered in the course of the trial episode that dominates the novel's central book, the author argues for consider-

² Morgan – Harrison 2008, 218-236. Their chapter, entitled 'Intertextuality', falls into two parts. The Greek section includes a brief analysis of specific examples from Longus and Heliodorus on the Greek side of things, while the section devoted to the Roman novel looks at the literary texture of Petronius and Apuleius.

able influence from Imperial rhetorical theory upon *Callirhoe*. This manifests itself not only in echoes of arguments and manoeuvres known from Classical orations that were canonically prescribed by rhetorical theorists in Chariton's time, but also in the structure, argument, and stylisation of the prosecution and defence speeches in the courtroom scene under discussion. Chariton's skilful exploitation of these echoes and of style-markers known from his contemporary rhetorical prescriptions reinforces characterisation in his novel and, at the same time, serves to subvert cultural stereotypes of his time. By alluding in the narrative context of this episode to his subtle but active engagement with forensic oratory and rhetorical theory, the novelist appears to be giving a knowing nod to his alert, *pepaideumenoï* readers, who would have shared his appetite for (and training in) rhetoric.

Maria-Elpiniki Oikonomou takes a closer look at Anthia's dream in Book 5 of Xenophon of Ephesus, which is central to what she sees as a multifaceted, multifunctional episode, and discusses the presentation and treatment of dreams in the *Ephesiaca* in relation to other texts. After demonstrating that Anthia's dream is the direct result of the heroine's mental state and circumstances at that point in the narrative, the author argues that the passage in question is part of a long tradition of dreams presented in a similar way in authors earlier than Xenophon (Herodotus, Hippocrates, and Lucretius), in the near-contemporary writer of oneirocritic theories Artemidorus, and in Xenophon's (later) fellow-novelist Longus. The essay also brings out the foreshadowing function of the heroine's dream, which not only aligns this passage with Habrocomes' prognostic dreams that occur earlier in the narrative but may also be seen as alluding to the presentation and interpretation of two similar dreams in the (probably earlier) novelist Chariton. An additional function of the episode constructed around Anthia's dream is to heighten suspense by deferring the anticipated reunion of the protagonists shortly before the novel's happy finale.

Michael Paschalis' 'Petronius and Virgil: Contextual and Intertextual Readings' examines the presence of Virgilian elements in the *Satyrica*, considers the contextual significance and intertextual implications of allusions to Virgil's *Aeneid*, and explores the interaction between Homeric and Virgilian intertexts in Petronius' novel. Focusing primarily upon chapters 79-99, but also looking at 100-103, Michael Paschalis shows that Virgilian allusions in Petronius, far from being merely sporadic echoes in isolated scenes, have a sustained character. He also argues that, despite Petronius' interest in Homer, Homeric influence upon the *Satyrica* is 'Virgilianised' in terms of both language and content, because for Petronius' audience the *Aeneid* carried

greater weight and, therefore, constituted a more important and familiar intertext.

Entitled 'Platonic Love and Erotic Education in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*', Ian Repath's chapter examines Longus' reworking of well-known Platonic dialogues on desire and love, such as the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium*, and brings out an interesting aspect of the intertextual dialogue between Longus and Plato. Focusing on several episodes from *Daphnis and Chloe*, Ian Repath argues that various types of allusion, ranging from general thematic echoes to closer parallels and associations triggered by the use of specific key-terms, prompt the reader to think of Plato, while certain differences and divergences from the Platonic intertext evoked may be seen as inviting a humorous, ironic or even cynical reading of Plato. This analysis adds a new dimension to Longus' already recognised rich and complex intertextuality.

Maeve O'Brien's essay on Aristomenes' story in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 1,3-19 examines the allusions in this episode to the Platonic persona of Socrates. She argues that, in addition to the obvious allusion evoked by the name of the Apuleian character Socrates, which is hardly surprising given the novelist's fascination with the Socratic persona as demonstrated, for example, in his *De deo Socratis*, the passage under discussion contains multiple echoes of Platonic works such as the *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, *Phaedo*, and *Crito*. The resemblances between the Apuleian and the Platonic Socrates, which are not limited to the characters' circumstances and personality but also extend to their human environment, invite further comparison between the two personae, and, in fact, it is the divergences from one another which, according to the author, are telling of Apuleius' intention. She concludes that the juxtaposition of Platonic philosophical discourse with the entertaining, un-philosophical discourse of the novel, which dominates the Socrates episode in Apuleius, leads to the reshaping of Socrates into a ghostly image, a revelation that 'constitutes the first pleasurable step on the road to true wisdom.'

John Morgan's 'Poets and Shepherds: Philetas and Longus' explores the significance of the novel's key-character Philetas as a figure that may be inscribing the Hellenistic poet Philitas, and considers the implications that an association between the two would have for our reading of *Daphnis and Chloe*. After gathering and presenting the scattered information that has survived about Philitas and his work, John Morgan offers a survey of modern scholarship on the connection between Philetas and Philitas, before proceeding to explore the complex interplay between Longus and Philitas. He identi-

fies several areas of possible Philitean influence on *Daphnis and Chloe*, exerted both directly and through the medium of Hellenistic and Roman poetry, in scenes such as Philetas' first appearance, his eulogy of Eros and advice about love to Daphnis and Chloe, the story of the invention of the syrinx, and the transformation of the female cowherd into a wood-dove, and suggests that specific lexical terms in the Philetas scenes as well as character names in Longus may also betray Philitean influence. Going beyond merely identifying possible allusions to Philitas, John Morgan reflects on ways in which Longus' intertextuality may advance our understanding of the novelist and his work.

In 'The Rhetoric of Otherness' Elias Koulakiotis draws attention to the reception of geography, historiography, and zoology in *Alexander's Letter about India* and the *Alexander Romance*, two closely related, multifaceted texts that 'blend the most diverse literary genres and present them as an engaging unity.' More specifically, the author sets out to investigate whether human ways of communicating with the 'Other' (by which he means mainly animals and gods) that were already known in Greek societies are also operative in the exotic world described in the popular, fictional accounts of Alexander's deeds in the East on which the article focuses. Special attention is paid to the themes of hunting, sacrificial ritual, and oracle consultation, which can help to illuminate aspects of the relationship between humans with fauna and flora as well as with the divine world.

Concentrating upon the episode of the encounter between Apollonius and the fisherman, Stelios Panayotakis reflects on the significance of the 'divided cloak' motif that marks this scene out. An examination of the terms *tribunarium* and *sagum*, which are used in order to describe the fisherman's garment, and of the relation that these bear to various literary traditions, lead to a consideration of the possible symbolism behind the scene in question. The author argues that the word *tribunarium*, with its negative connotations of a superficial attitude towards the life of a philosopher, serves to undermine the fisherman's offer of a frugal lifestyle to Apollonius, a lifestyle that is eventually abandoned by both characters – by Apollonius as soon as he marries king Archistrates' daughter a few chapters later, and by the fisherman when he is richly rewarded by Apollonius at the end of the narrative.

In different ways, then, the essays collected here all analyse the interconnection between Graeco-Roman narratives and earlier or contemporary works, and consider ways in which intertextual exploration is invited from the readers of these texts. In doing so, they confirm what modern scholars have already recognised: that the allusive range of all ancient novels is ex-

tensive.³ This, to a large degree, is a corollary to the dating of these works in the Roman period and, consequently, to the rich literary production that had preceded them. The diverse allusive character of the texts studied is reflected in the variety of approaches adopted by the contributors to this volume, which are almost as varied as the texts that they set out to analyse. Nevertheless, there are certain questions that are persistently raised in all articles.

First of all, how do we identify an allusion? There are various ways in which the reader may be prompted to associate a passage with an earlier text. One element that may trigger this type of intertextual association is aligning a character with one or more well-known figures from earlier literature, often through implicit comparison – an association that can be evoked by the behaviour and general portrayal of that character. Thus, Ian Repath discusses the evocation of the Platonic Socrates in Longus, which, he argues, is not without a humorous effect resulting from the ironisation of Socrates. Sometimes, the same character may be tacitly ‘cast’ in more than one role. Michael Paschalis, for example, analyses the way in which Petronius evokes an implicit comparison of Giton with Odysseus but also with Dido, Iulus, and Euryalus. And as Koen De Temmerman and Kristoffel Demoen demonstrate, the assimilation of contrasting characters can sometimes undermine the evoked earlier paradigm. But setting novelistic characters up against earlier figures can be more explicit than that. Thus, Maeve O’Brien argues that the association in the *Metamorphoses* of the Apuleian Socrates with the Platonic Socrates, which is instantly triggered by the character’s name, brings about the ‘reshaping’ of philosophical Socrates, ‘a transformation that leads to literary pleasure within the context of Apuleius’ novel.’

Then there are also thematic connections residing in the preoccupation of the authors of narratives with the same ideas as antecedent authors and in the exploration of themes or the evocation of motifs from earlier literature. Ian Repath, for example, sees a thematic connection between Longus and Plato in both authors’ concern with erotic themes and in the emphasis they both seem to place on beauty and on visually stimulated desire. He also traces, however, divergences from, and hinted re-writings of, Plato in *Daphnis and Chloe*. Michael Paschalis identifies thematic borrowing from Homer in the episode of the fight between Encolpius and Ascyltus over Giton in the *Satyricon*. John Morgan discusses the possible links between Longus and the poet Philitas through the association of the latter, and also of Callimachus, with a grove and cave setting in Propertius’s third book. Konstantin Doulamis con-

³ It is now suggested that even Xenophon’s *Ephesiaca* may be seen as intertextual. See Doulamis (forthcoming).

centrates on the trial theme and on the arguments deployed in the speeches delivered by Dionysius and Mithridates in Chariton Book 5, which, he argues, echo well-known arguments from Classical forensic oratory. According to Maria-Elpiniki Oikonomou, the presentation of Anthia's dream in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* follows a long tradition of dreams represented as reflective of the mental state and circumstances of the dreamer, which occurs at least from Herodotus onwards and is also paralleled in Petronius and Longus. And Stelios Panayotakis brings to the fore the possible symbolism evoked by the association of the 'divided cloak' motif, which we find in the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, with other texts, such as Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

In other cases, an earlier text may be evoked by the discourse of characters. There, it is specific lexical terms or the style employed by the speaker that establish an intertextual connection. Ian Repath, for instance, points out that the use of the Greek adjective *phaidron* at Longus 1,5,2 reinforces the connection with the Platonic *Phaedrus*. Maeve O'Brien draws attention to several examples of words evoking Plato in the Socrates episode in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Adducing, among other things, linguistic evidence, Michael Paschalis discusses the Homeric connotations of *praeda* in the Giton episode and, given the term's double meaning, considers ways in which use of this specific term may affect our reading of Petronius. John Morgan, too, focuses on certain terms in the Philetas episodes in Longus and entertains the possibility that Longus' lexical choices and interests in these scenes may reflect those of Philitas the poet, whose possible influence may also be traced in some of the proper names employed in *Daphnis and Chloe*. Taking into account the double meaning of the term *mageiros* and the associations of the proper name Andreas with the Greek word for 'man', Elias Koulakiotis explores the special significance that may be evoked by the name and function of Alexander's cook in the *Epistola*. Stelios Panayotakis looks at how the connotations evoked by the terms *tribunarium* and *sagum*, which are used for the fisherman's cloak in the *Historia Apollonii*, may affect our reading of this particular episode. And Konstantin Doulamis argues that, in the case of an important trial episode in Chariton, it is not merely *what* Dionysius and Mithridates say but *how* they say it, in other words the stylistic categories deployed in their speeches, that colours their discourse and lends an intertextual dimension to the text.

In thinking about the allusive character of Greek and Roman narratives, the volume also asks how we might interpret the meaning of an identified allusion. A point that comes up in almost all of the articles collected here is

that intertextuality often functions as a device of characterisation. This is especially pertinent in Koen De Temmerman's and Kristoffel Demoen's chapter, where it is argued that the connection with earlier mythological paradigms serves to characterise the protagonists of the Greek novels. Konstantin Doulamis, too, argues that the evocation of well-known models from Classical forensic oratory and Imperial rhetorical theory serves to reinforce the cultural identity of the two litigants in the Babylon trial scene, whilst also putting a playful, ironical spin on the cultural *clichés* shared by Chariton's readers. Ian Repath and Maeve O'Brien examine the way in which assimilation with Platonic characters affects the portrayal of characters in Longus and Apuleius respectively. Moving along similar lines of enquiry, Michael Paschalis explores the effect resulting from the connection of Petronian protagonists with Virgilian figures. Elias Koulakiotis considers how representations of the 'Other' in the fictional accounts of Alexander's deeds may impact on Alexander's image. Maria-Elpiniki Oikonomou argues that the presentation of Anthia's dream in Book 5 of the *Ephesiaca* not only contributes to the heroine's portrayal, but also plays an important role in the movement of the plot in Xenophon's narrative. And taking this general approach a step further, John Morgan suggests that in a genre as self-conscious and allusive as the ancient novel, possible connections may be identified not only between characters in the novels and characters in earlier works, but also between novelistic characters and the *authors* of earlier works, as is the case with the character Philetas in Longus who, in certain ways, may be inscribing the Hellenistic poet Philitas.

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