

Anthia and Habrocomes in Full Bloom: A Literary Onomastic Analysis of Erotic *Andreia* and Lasting Beauty in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*

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Introduction

This paper argues that Xenophon of Ephesus deployed several of his character names in surprisingly sophisticated and interpretively significant ways in the service of the construction of themes relating to erotic *andreia* and lasting beauty. The study takes its departure in part from recent scholarship on the novel and in part from ancient reading conventions relating to significant names. In regard to the latter, Karolien Vermeulen has aptly observed that *nomen est omen* was an everyday reality in Greco-Roman antiquity, not merely a quote from Plautus.¹ Ancient readers were attuned to the way particular names fit particular narratives and episodes, and authors frequently exploited that interest in their compositions, sometimes with great intentionality and planning and sometimes, presumably, in a less self-conscious, more intuitive manner as well.² That fact has not been forgotten in modern scholarship on the *Ephesiaca*. Thomas Hägg's 'The Naming of the Characters in the Romance of Xenophon Ephesius' remains an indispensable resource on the subject.³ It established that Xenophon sought to assign realistic

¹ Vermeulen 2013, 166.

² As Thomas Hägg notes, 'etymologically significant names should not be regarded as subtleties over the heads of an ordinary audience' since this sort of onomastic interest is on evidence from Homer to New Comedy and 'was characteristic of early fiction in general' (Hägg 1971, 58-59). Interest in this uncontroversial fact has given rise to illuminating analyses in modern scholarship. See, for instance, Austin 1922, Schmeling 1969, Hijmans 1978, Bowie 1995, O'Hara 1996, Paschalis 1997, Perkins 2005, Jones 2006, Goldman 2008, and Genter 2019.

³ Hägg 1971. The article builds on the work of others, not least that of Kerényi (1927) and Dalmeyda (1926).

monikers to his *dramatis personae* without precluding a robust use of etymologically significant names.⁴ On Hägg's estimate, around one third of the names in the romance qualify as *sprechende Namen*, a conclusion that has been amply demonstrated in subsequent scholarship.⁵ There is every reason to suspect, then, that a literarily attuned onomastic analysis of the *Ephesiaca* might prove enlightening.

Another impetus for this study comes from Koen De Temmerman's recent work on narrative technique and character construction in the *Ephesiaca* and its implications regarding Xenophon's literary credentials and the use of character names to guide interpretation. Approaching the *Ephesiaca* as an example of *apheleia* or 'simple discourse,' he makes a compelling case that the novel is a 'conscious literary creation rather than a collection of flaws or a summary of something more interesting.'⁶ An aphelic narrator must be 'sophisticated enough to depict himself as unsophisticated,' which suggests there may be more going on below the surface of the story than has traditionally been recognized.⁷ On a related note, De Temmerman has drawn attention to the fact that Xenophon's use of

⁴ Hägg 1971, 54. Hägg's conclusions regarding Xenophon's onomastic realism received strong support from data published in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Nikoletta Kanavou (2010) has demonstrated that all names in the romance are 'historical or at least historically plausible' (614).

⁵ Consuelo Ruiz Montero has observed that most of the novel's significant names fall into three categories relating to 1) function within the action, 2) profession, or 3) physical/moral characteristics (Ruiz Montero 1994, 1108-1109). Anton Bierl (2006, 90-92) incorporates many of the onomastic insights of Ruiz Montero and Hägg into his own argument for the dreamlike quality of the novel. Koen De Temmerman (2014, 146-147) briefly discusses several of the novel's significant names and offers a classification in terms of modes of characterization (direct, metaphorical, and metonymic). Andrea Capra (2009) has recently argued that 'Anthia' and 'Habrocomes' may recall 'Panthea' and 'Abradates' from the *Cyropaedia*. The suggestion had been made before, but a substantial case had not previously been offered. The proposed intertextual significance of the names does not negate, in Capra's view, the fact that 'Habrocomes' and 'Anthia' are 'clearly speaking names' with their own propriety and functions within Xenophon's narrative (44).

⁶ De Temmerman 2014, 120. By 'summary of something more interesting,' he is referring to the theory that the novel as we have it is an epitome of a longer and, perhaps, more sophisticated work.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 150. Regarding the 'contrived simplicity' of the *Ephesiaca*, see Ruiz Montero (2003) and De Temmerman (2014, 118-151). While conceding some clumsiness in Xenophon's structuring of the novel, Gareth Schmeling has noted that the *Ephesiaca* makes a display of its narrative arrangement, openly calling attention to its technique of story-telling (2018, 9 n. 12). Tagliabue has recently argued for the paraliterary quality of the novel, which includes a robust sense of Xenophon's artistic competence and conscious control of intra-textual relationships in the narrative, especially when it comes to thematic development (2017, 7).

character names is rather exceptional in light of his general eschewal of narratorial authority and overt interpretation. In keeping with the aphelic style, the novel primarily relies on focalization and metonymical characterization, leaving space for the reader to interpret. When it comes to the names of characters, however, direct and metaphorical modes of characterization are fully embraced.⁸ The doctor who helps Anthia escape a forced marriage is named ‘Eudoxus’ (‘Good-Repute’).⁹ The hero’s most shameless aggressor is named ‘Bitch’ (Κυνώ, 3,12,3). ‘Anthia’ is punned upon in the wedding-night *ekphrasis* to help establish a mythic analog.¹⁰ Xenophon does not hesitate to guide the reader when it comes to his selection and deployment of character names.

De Temmerman’s observations raise important questions. Might attending carefully to Xenophon’s interaction with the names of his characters foster a better understanding of the story he wants to tell? Might it even afford a glimpse beyond the *Ephesiaca*’s ‘contrived simplicity’ to a certain level of literary sophistication? In the following pages, I address these questions by means of a literary onomastic investigation, examining the ways significant names serve and reflect Xenophon’s construction of two themes over the course of the narrative. The paper advances in three parts. The first part takes up potential puns on the names of the protagonists in the first half of book 1. Patterns emerge that suggest something more than slapdash paronomasia. In the next two sections, I make a case that this patterned paronomasia and other onomastic effects besides serve themes relating to erotic *andreia* and lasting beauty. Both themes have been discussed in contemporary research, though erotic ‘manliness’ is by far the more pronounced theme in the novel and has received more thorough treatment in secondary literature.¹¹ The discussion of each theme advances in two stages. In the first stage, I summarize

⁸ Metaphorically significant names are permissible in aphelic discourse if the raw materials are drawn from ‘lower and more ordinary’ subjects like hair, flowers, and animals (De Temmerman 2014, 146-148).

⁹ Xenophon puns on the name in 3,4,2 (Εὐδοξος/εὐδοκιμώτατοι). Supporting and minor characters who empathize with the protagonists or assist them in some way are frequently given glowingly positive names. Lampo (Λάμπων, ‘Shining’) is a goatherd who disobeys orders and spares Anthia’s life (2,11,6-9). Just before his introduction (2,9,3), the protagonists are referred to as ‘the radiant (λαμπροί)’ (2,8,1). Chrysius (Χρυσίον, ‘Golden’) appears out of nowhere and provides Habrocomes with key information that allows him to continue his pursuit of Anthia (3,9). Clytus (Κλυτός, ‘Renowned’) feels compassion for Anthia when she falls under the wrath of jealous Rhenaea (5,5,6). The loyal and helpful Leuco (Λεύκων, ‘Bright’ or ‘Fair’) and Rhoda (Ρόδη, ‘Rose-Bush’) may be included in this list as well, though these names could have been chosen for the pleasant way they work as a pair in a novel dealing with youth and beauty.

¹⁰ Cueva 2004, 42.

¹¹ Relevant bibliography will be supplied below.

recent scholarship on the relevant theme and the key scenes in which it has been found. I then circle back and discuss Xenophon's use of the names of certain characters to serve thematic development over the course of the narrative.

1. Patterned Paronomasia in the Early Chapters of Book 1

Over the course of the first half of book 1, Xenophon puns on the names of his protagonists as many as seven times. The first two instances occur in parallel passages. The third and fourth occur in the same general context. The remaining instances occur together in the same scene. They are also concentrated in important episodes: the protagonists' introductions into the story, their first experiences of lovesickness, and their wedding night. Before delving into the data, it is necessary to offer a brief word about the etymology of the names involved. Habrocomes (Ἀβροκόμης), the impossibly handsome hero, bears a name comprising two semantic components: ἄβρός ('graceful,' 'delicate,' or 'luxurious') and κόμη ('hair').¹² 'Lovely-Locks' would work well as an English translation privileging etymology over realism. Anthia (Ἀνθία), the female protagonist, bears a name derived from ἄνθος ('flower'). 'Bloom' or 'Blossom' would be suitable as etymologically oriented renderings. If the *LGPN* data are any indication, these were not common names of actual persons in antiquity.¹³

The first two puns are on Anthia's name. When the hero and heroine are introduced, they are both 'blooming': 'Habrocomes grew handsomer by the day, and his spiritual virtues blossomed (συνήνθει) along with his physical excellences' (1,1,2);¹⁴ 'Anthia's beauty was marvelous and far surpassed the other girls. She was fourteen, her body was blooming (ἤνθει)' (1,2,5). The pun on Anthia's name (Ἀνθία/ἀνθέω) at her introduction is quite clear and has been observed by others.¹⁵ The potential allusion to her name at Habrocomes' introduction is more subtle, but since both introductions are constructed to parallel one another there is some warrant for suspecting intentionality here. The reference to Habrocomes' 'blossoming' soul also serves as the opening bracket in a homophonic

¹² Ἀβροκόμης (with the smooth breathing) is preferred in the manuscript witness, but modern editors are nearly unanimous that the rough breathing is to be preferred (Ruiz Montero 1981).

¹³ In regard to Ἀβροκόμης, Hägg identified one epigraphic attestation (*IG* XIV 1318). Kanavou notes another two instances from the *LGPN* with the rough breathing and four instances with the smooth breathing (2010, 611-612). Only two attestations are listed for Ἀνθία.

¹⁴ Unless otherwise noted, English translations of the novel are taken from Henderson 2009.

¹⁵ Hägg 1971, 36.

inclusio around the description of his *paideia*: συνήθει (‘co-blooming’) at the beginning is answered by συνήθη (‘familiar’) at the end of the description.

The second set of onomastic puns can be found in the midst of the couple’s lovesickness: ‘Habrocomes pulled his hair (Λαβὼν δὴ τὴν κόμην ὁ Ἄβροκόμης)’ (1,4,1); ‘Megamedes and Euipe had been brought into a similar state of fear concerning Anthia, watching her beauty wither (μαραϊνόμενον)’ (1,5,6; my trans.). The punning reference to the ‘withering’ of Anthia has a parallel in Longus. When Daphnis (‘Laurel’) first falls for Chloe, he notices a strange sickness coming over him and spins the same pun to describe it: ‘How the flowers bloom (ἄνθη), and I weave no garlands. The violets and hyacinth flower (ἀνθεῖ), and Daphnis withers (μαραίνεται)’ (Longus 1,18,2).

The third set of interactions with the protagonists’ names occurs on the wedding night. Anthia is led into a chamber and put upon a bed beneath a wedding canopy depicting Aphrodite and Ares. Xenophon describes cupids attending to Aphrodite and ‘bearing flowers (ἄνθη φέροντες)’ (1,8,2). Edmund Cueva rightly discerns a *figura etymologica*.¹⁶ The *ekphrasis* also mentions floral garlands in connection with both mythic lovers. That may be significant. Anthia, positioned directly below the garlanded gods, personifies her garlands as though they were objective manifestations of her own name and, thus, representative of her very self (1,9,5-6). She does the same with her beloved’s hair, the κόμη in Ἄβροκόμης, insisting that the garlands and hair share their love. It is possible, then, that the floral garlands in the *ekphrasis* invite an association between Anthia and both gods, though the connection with Aphrodite is more pronounced.

At the very least, it may be concluded that Xenophon is constantly attuned to the etymological significance of these two names. In what follows, I argue that this series of punning interactions with ‘Anthia’ and ‘Habrocomes’ and other significant names besides helps orient the reader toward certain themes that Xenophon continues to develop over the course of the novel.

2. Theme 1: Erotic *Andreia*

Erotic *andreia* has emerged as an important theme in recent scholarship. Meriel Jones has explored the ways the Greek novels advance a philosophy of manliness by adopting philosophical conceptions and adapting them to the erotic context and to contemporary concerns. As an erotic virtue, it comes to mean not merely

¹⁶ Cueva 2004, 42.

‘manly courage’ but ‘endurance of circumstances’¹⁷ and ‘protection of chastity.’¹⁸ Anthia embodies *andreia* in the latter sense, which is, traditionally, an ‘eminently feminine goal.’¹⁹ Her *andreia*, according to Jones, is intermittent and uncalculated. When Anthia is not forced to fight for her chastity, her *andreia* abandons her and she returns to her ‘natural’ state. Thus, when she ‘plays the man’ it is ‘merely to reinforce the socially normative functions the reader expects of her.’²⁰ Habrocomes’ own sense of masculinity is bound up closely with his status as husband. When that status is threatened, a sense of utter emasculation follows.²¹

De Temmerman has contributed to this discussion by noting that Habrocomes’ *andreia* is problematized in book 1 in connection with various conceptions of *sophrosyne*. The male protagonist comes off as ‘manly’ (ἀνδρικός), ‘unmanly’ (ἄνανδρος, δειλός), and ‘rash’ (θρασύς) in turns in connection with varying views on chastity so that these opening scenes deal not only with the ‘manly virtue’ in an erotic key but also with vicious extremes relating to *andreia* as described by Aristotle in his discussion of the ‘coward, the rash man, and the courageous man (περὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ τε δειλὸς καὶ ὁ θρασύς καὶ ὁ ἀνδρείος)’ (*Eth. Nic.* 1116a 3-4).²² Cowardice is a deficit of manliness and the excessively manly person is θρασύς, rash (*Eth. Nic.* 1115b 29). When De Temmerman tracks Habrocomes’ development later in the novel, he does so in terms of *sophrosyne*, concluding that ‘Habrocomes’ reaction to sexual advances evolves from emotional and ineffective to rational and effective.’²³ Matters are different with Anthia, whom De Temmerman regards as exceptional in her use of clever ruses to protect her chastity and more consistent than Habrocomes in her ability to act rationally rather than emotionally in public in the face of such danger.²⁴

The thematic importance of *andreia* and its relationship to *sophrosyne* in Xenophon’s novel has been elucidated most recently by Aldo Tagliabue.²⁵ He makes a persuasive case that the protagonists’ love matures and their characters develop

¹⁷ Jones 2007, 111.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 120; cf. Konstan 2009, 122.

¹⁹ Jones 2012, 112. Even as a ‘feminine goal,’ however, Jones notes that Anthia’s chastity-defending *andreia* is presented in the *Ephesiaca* as not wholly natural or proper to a woman’s nature.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 113.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 203-207.

²² De Temmerman 2007, 86. He notes elsewhere that the ‘traditional distinction between *deilia*, *andreia*, and *thrasytês* surfacing in these passages highlights the incompatibility of Habrocomes’ and Anthia’s conflicting views of *andreia* and for a minute blurs the symmetry between them’ (De Temmerman 2014, 129).

²³ *Ibid.*, 140.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 135-136.

²⁵ Tagliabue 2017, 88-95.

over the course of the novel as they suffer and endure for the sake of their fidelity to one another. As Anthia and Habrocomes face progressively more violent threats to their chastity, the protagonists prove progressively more adept at rising to the challenge—more ‘manly’ in the novel’s ideal sense. Tagliabue differs slightly from De Temmerman in emphasizing some development in Anthia’s erotic *andreia*. Nevertheless, he too concludes that Anthia more closely and consistently approximates to the novel’s erotic ideal than does Habrocomes. Her ‘manliness,’ on this reading, is more than an intermittent nod to what traditional social mores demand of her. Anthia is exemplary, a ‘paragon of *andreia*.’²⁶ It is Anthia rather than Habrocomes who takes the leading role at the couple’s climactic reunion, where sexual fidelity constitutes a new kind of heroism.²⁷

According to the studies just surveyed, this theme is most pronounced in a few key scenes. In the first half of book 1, it can be found when Habrocomes first laments falling in love (1,4,1-5) and when the protagonists are alone together on their wedding night (1,8,1-1,9,9).²⁸ The other scenes relating to *andreia* have to do with the protagonists’ successful navigation of their erotic trials in the journey portion of the novel.²⁹ Habrocomes’ feelings of emasculation are especially pronounced in the Corymbus episode (1,14,7-2,1,6). From that point on, Habrocomes grows in *andreia* as he resists his progressively more insistent suitors. As Tagliabue observes, this development is marked by the fact that Hippothous greets him as ‘manly’ (ἀνδρικόν) in 2,14,2, shortly after he successfully survives his second erotic trial.³⁰ Anthia’s own *andreia* emerges most overtly from book 3 onward. She attempts to escape a forced marriage by suicide, insisting that she is ‘not so unmanly (ἄνανδρος) or cowardly (δειλή) in adversity’ (3,6,3). In her next ordeal, she saves herself from attempted rape by killing her attacker with a sword (4,5,5). She eventually ends up at a brothel but escapes from her ‘impossible predicament’ by feigning epilepsy (5,7,4). She goes on to observe: ‘I am beset in my misfortune by manifold predicaments, and I find resources of virtue beyond a woman’s means’ (5,8,7).

To these principal episodes treated by Jones, De Temmerman, and Tagliabue, one may also add the novel’s first embedded narrative featuring the romance between Hippothous and his *eromenos*, Hyperanthes (3,2,1-14). David Konstan has argued that a contrast with Xenophon’s leading couple is at play in terms of

²⁶ Ibid., 95.

²⁷ Ibid., 39-43, 93.

²⁸ De Temmerman 2014, 128-129; Tagliabue 2017, 94.

²⁹ Jones 2007, 116-117; 2012, 112-113, 203-207; De Temmerman 2014, 135-137; Tagliabue 2017, 89-95.

³⁰ Tagliabue 2017, 95.

activity/passivity in defense of chastity:³¹ ‘Where Habrocomes is passive and pleading, Hippothous is active and resourceful’;³² ‘Anthia is not delicate about defending her fidelity to Habrocomes. Hyperanthes ... is wholly dependent upon Hippothous.’³³ In what follows, I offer further evidence for a *synkrisis* along these lines but diverge from Konstan on its possible significance.

2.1 Erotic Andreia: A Literary Onomastic Analysis

Habrocomes is described at the beginning of the novel as a child (παῖς Ἀβροκόμης, 1,1,1) and ‘lad’ (μειράκιον, 1,1,3). His name was well chosen to underscore his youth and want of manliness.³⁴ ‘Habrocomes’ may have been rare as a realistic name but it was familiar as a descriptor of beautiful boys. In Meleager’s paean to ‘boy-blossoms’ (*Anth. Pal.* 12,256), ‘soft-haired’ (ἀβροκόμης) marks the type. The same holds true in the case of ‘lovely-locked’ Hymenaeus (Nonnus *Dion.* 13,91) ‘with unmarked chin, young and fresh’ (13,84), loved by Dionysus (13,85). In Nonnus (*Dion.* 16,172) Dionysus is himself described as ‘lovely-locked’ (ἀβροκόμης) and looking like a woman (θήλει μορφῆ). Even ‘softness’ alone—the ἀβρός in Ἀβροκόμης—can point in this general direction: ‘The lovable, indeed, is the truly beautiful, tender (ἀβρόν), perfect, and heaven-blest; but the lover is of a different type’ (Pl. *Symp.* 204c).

Some of Xenophon’s most overt instances of onomastic paronomasia occur in the very same scenes that thematize the *andreia* motif and, as I shall argue, contribute to the development of that theme over the course of the novel. The first potential play on a protagonist’s name is open to challenge but worth noting, nonetheless. Xenophon introduces Habrocomes’ *paideia* by explaining that his soul was ‘blossoming’ with his body (1,1,2).³⁵ It is tempting to discern a play on συνανθέω/Ἀνθία here, not least since it is his relationship with Anthia (‘Blossom’) that will facilitate the actual blossoming of his soul—his true *paideia*—over the course of the novel as he develops in erotic *andreia*. The fact that Xenophon uses

³¹ Konstan 1994, 26-28. Jones (2012, 191-194) has insisted that the central contrast holds, rather, between the different approaches to love embodied by Hippothous and his romantic rival, Aristomachus.

³² Konstan 1994, 28.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Tagliabue takes the name to connote notions of Ionian luxury, effeminacy, and moral slackness (2013, 235).

³⁵ Jones is surprised that someone with such little experience is described as possessing *paideia*. Invoking the epitome theory, she proposes that the original novel treated his *paideia* much more fully (Jones 2012, 43).

the very same sort of pun (Ἀνθία/ἦνθει) at Anthia's own introduction (1,2,5) at least ought to give us pause.

The next pun in the series is quite clear and occurs at the very place where his developing sense of *andreia* is first focalized. Distraught that he has fallen in love with the beautiful Anthia, 'Lovely-Locks' begins to rip at his lovely locks: 'Habrocomes pulled his hair' (Λαβὼν δὴ τὴν κόμην ὁ Ἀβροκόμης) (1,4,1). Hair-pulling was a conventional expression of mourning traditionally associated with women.³⁶ The punning gesture reinforces what his significant name already implies and what he himself now declares in direct speech: Habrocomes lacks *andreia*. He insists that he used to be 'manly' (ἀνδρικός), contemptuous of Eros (1,4,1). Now he finds himself vanquished by the god, a girl's slave. Habrocomes briefly rallies while rebuffing himself as 'unmanly' (ἄνανδρος) for giving up so easily (1,4,2), but Eros routes the 'chaste Habrocomes' (Ἀβροκόμου τοῦ σώφρονος) and makes him his suppliant (1,4,4). If a name captures the essence of a person, the highly connotative pun on 'Habrocomes' in this context suggests that the problem being thematized here is central to his characterization in the novel.

The next instance of onomastic paronomasia associated with Habrocomes is also the next scene in which his *andreia* is focalized in direct speech. It occurs on the couple's wedding night.

Alone in the bedchamber, Habrocomes congratulates Anthia: 'you have your lover as a husband (τὸν ἐραστὴν ἔχεις ἄνδρα)' (1,9,3). There is a fruitful ambiguity here. His words could also be translated: 'you have your lover, a *man*.' To Anthia, however, he is no ἀνὴρ in this second sense. He is, rather, 'unmanly' (ἄνανδρε) and 'cowardly' (δειλέ), hardly the pursuing *erastes* he claimed to be (1,9,4; cf. Anthia's description of him as an *eromenos* in 1,4,7). Anthia then takes the lead in romance, a role which she has just equated with *andreia*, by initiating a symbolic union between representative objectifications of their *names* (1,9,5-6). She makes the floral garlands represent her and his lovely locks (ἡ καλή...κόμη) represent him and insists that the hair and the garlands 'share in our love (συνερωσιν)' (1,9,5). It is Anthia who consummates this symbolic union, which culminates in physical union. Habrocomes remains as romantically inert as the hair in her hands.

The focalization of Habrocomes' lack of *andreia* resonates fruitfully with the images on the wedding canopy above their bed. It depicts Eros leading a garlanded, disarmed Ares by torchlight to a flower-bedecked Aphrodite (1,8,2-3).

³⁶ Rehm 1994, 22; Garland 1985, 29; Kramer-Hajos 2015, 638-641. A conventionally masculine expression of grief consisted of a solemn raising of the right arm with the palm out or a flexed arm with the palm resting on or close to the head; cf. Rehm 1994, 23; Burke 2008, 75.

Anna Lefteratou has made a persuasive case that the Homeric account of an adulterous affair is not in view here.³⁷ In the Imperial period, Ares and Aphrodite were idealized as a married couple, representing the possibility of passion within marriage and embodying the virtues of beauty and manliness within the domestic sphere.³⁸ Ares was, among other things, the ‘paragon of masculinity’ (Ath. 5,192e). In the *Cratylus* (Pl. *Cra.* 407d) the name Ἄρης is derived etymologically from ‘the masculine and manly (ἄρρεν τε καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον).’ On Lefteratou’s reading, the *ekphrasis* promotes a ‘new, idealized masculinity’ that stands in counterpoint to Habrocomes’ initial account of what it means to be a man (1,4,1-2).³⁹ The unarmed Ares (Ἄρης ... οὐχ ὀπλισμένος) in 1,8,3 represents the ‘subjugation of the god of war to the goddess of beauty’ and echoes Eros’ conquest of Habrocomes in the preceding narrative.⁴⁰ I would add that Habrocomes has not yet embodied the erotic ideal represented above his head. If anything, the image is programmatic for the development he has yet to undergo.

The fact that floral garlands come to represent Anthia in the scene unfolding below the canopy may suggest that, at this point, she more closely approximates to the ideal of erotic *andreia* represented by the garlanded Ares than Habrocomes does. It is Ares who is led by torchlight to his beloved Aphrodite waiting in the chamber. It is, likewise, Anthia who is led by torchlight to the waiting Habrocomes on their wedding night. The detail is mentioned twice, immediately before and after the description of the canopy. The effect seems to reinforce the same theme that is focalized in Anthia’s speech and performed in her symbolic, punning gesture. Anthia is the lover here. If the novel’s ideal is a symmetrical love, the beautiful boy has some catching up to do.

The next major scene in terms of the development of the *andreia* motif is the Corymbus episode. After taking over the couple’s ship, Corymbus falls in love with Habrocomes, whose status as a man is called into question: ‘Why should

³⁷ Lefteratou 2018, 84–85. For interpretations that take the alternative view that the *ekphrasis* depicts the adulteress affair of the gods, see De Temmerman (2014, 143) and Tagliabue (2017, 29–34).

³⁸ Lefteratou 2018, 86–90. Elite couples turned to Ares and Aphrodite for divine models in portraiture and statuary (Kleiner 1981). Their love was a popular theme in domestic paintings in Pompeii and Herculaneum, promoting ideal gender roles (Swetnam-Burland 2018, 166; Lorenz 2008, 429; Wallace-Hadrill 1996, 109).

³⁹ Lefteratou 2018, 93.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* The conquest of Habrocomes by Eros is described in predominantly military language. See, for instance, 1,2,1; 1,3,1–2; 1,4,3–5. Xenophon’s description of the opening procession is also interesting in this regard: ‘some of it [was] martial, most of it peaceful’ (1,2,4). In that procession (1,2,2) Habrocomes is adorned for love (κεκοσμημένος) in the same way that Ares is adorned for his lover (κεκοσμημένος) in 1,8,3.

someone your age need to love a woman?’ (1,16,5).⁴¹ Habrocomes responds to the situation in lament: ‘I become a whore (πόρνη) instead of a husband/man (ἄνδρός) and lose my own Anthia’ (2,1,3). He feels emasculated.⁴² His words recall the lament in 1,4,1 where his love for Anthia was experienced as a threat to his masculinity, as slavery to a *girl*. Even the description of Corymbus recalls the description of Anthia in that context.⁴³ This time, however, it is a threat to his status as husband that Habrocomes experiences as a threat to his *andreia*. To highlight and, perhaps, exacerbate that emasculating effect, Xenophon gives this pederastic pirate a name with feminizing connotations. Hägg suspects that Κόρυμβος refers to ‘a certain kind of hair dressing’ but does not elaborate on what that style might be or why Xenophon chose to name the pirate after it.⁴⁴ As soon as Corymbus is introduced, his hair is described. It is ‘loose and unkempt’ (1,13,3).⁴⁵ The description highlights the presence of the significant name. According to the *Suda*, the κόρυμβος is a hairstyle proper to women, a feminine version of a man’s κρωβύλος.⁴⁶ In the Greek Anthology, it is the hairstyle of a eunuch donning a woman’s chiton and hairnet.⁴⁷ Other ancient texts connect it with softness, luxury, and beautiful boys.⁴⁸ That Xenophon intends to feminize Corymbus in this way is

⁴¹ Jones (2012, 204) fills out the implications: ‘Why should one so young want to play the conjugal role of *erastēs* to an *erōmenē*, when his age better suits him to the role of *erōmenos* in a pederastic relationship?’

⁴² Jones (2012, 206) notes that the feminine πόρνη ‘suggests that he envisages the role of *erōmenos* to Corymbus’ *erastēs* as emasculating him so completely that it will result in a figurative sex-change.’

⁴³ Corymbus’ ‘fearful look’ (φοβερός τὸ βλέμμα) and ‘loose’ (καθειμένη) hair in 1,13,3 parallel Anthia’s ‘fearful’ (φοβεροί) eyes and ‘loose’ (καθειμένη) hair in 1,2,6.

⁴⁴ Hägg 1971, 38. Ruiz Montero (1994, 1108) suggests that Κόρυμβος may refer to part of a ship, picking up on the fact that Corymbus is a pirate; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 411; Hom. *Il.* 9,241; Eur. *IA* 258. It should be noted that ‘Corymbus’ is a realistic name. Kanavou (2010, 610) counts 25 attestations in the *LGPN*.

⁴⁵ Heliodorus associates long hair on a man with brigands, who grow it long and toss it violently to appear alarming (Heliod. 2,20,5). Having one’s hair in a κόρυμβος was, apparently, no impediment to such dramatic gestures. An epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (*Anth. Pal.* 6,219,1-2) describes a eunuch in drag and a κόρυμβος, ‘tossing his locks in wild frenzy (δονέων λυσομανεῖς πλοκάμους).’

⁴⁶ *Suda* s.v. κρωβύλος.

⁴⁷ The eunuch’s hair was done up in ‘well-plaited tresses and a dainty netted hair-caul (ἀσκητὸς εὐσπεῖροισι κορύμβοις, ἄβρω τε στρεπτῶν ἄμματι κεκρυφάλων)’ (*Anth. Pal.* 6,219,3-4).

⁴⁸ Thucydides takes the adoption of the κόρυμβος in Ionia as a preeminent sign of a change to ‘more luxurious ways’ (Thuc. 1,6,3); cf. Ath. 12,512b-c. Nicolaus of Damascus preserves a story (*FGrH* 90 F 62) that associates this hair style with pederastic pursuits: A beautiful Ionian boy, Magnes, grew his hair long, styled it into a κόρυμβος, and garnered the attention of an older man. Magnes complemented his hairstyle with a luxurious purple robe.

also suggested by the dream that immediately precedes his appearance on the scene. Habrocomes sees a fearsome, superhumanly large *woman* in scarlet clothing who sets their ship on fire (1,12,4).⁴⁹ Upon waking, he is shaken up by the vision and expects something terrible, ‘and this terrible something did come to pass’ (1,12,4). Corymbus is introduced immediately after the dream (1,13,1-3). He is the terrifying, feminine figure before whom Habrocomes feels utterly helpless and emasculated.⁵⁰

The next overt invocation of *andreia* occurs in 2,14,2. Habrocomes begins actively searching for Anthia for the first time in the novel and then meets Hippothous, who refers to him as ‘manly’ (ἀνδρικόν)—the first character to do so in the novel. Xenophon prepares for that meeting a few chapters earlier. While suffering in prison for the sake of his *sophrosyne*, Habrocomes begins to weep and call out for his parents like a child (2,8,1). Then comes his second and final dream in the novel (2,8,2). He sees his father wandering over land and sea to find him and set him free. Then the liberated Habrocomes becomes the pursuer. He transforms into a horse and pursues a mare over many lands. The dream ends when the equine Habrocomes catches up with the mare and transforms into a person. David Konstan suggests that the dream may be taken as an allegory of the hero’s development.⁵¹ Anton Bierl, likewise, reads the transformation into a horse ‘als Symbol der Initiation des jungen Menschen auf dem Weg zur Reife.’⁵²

There is an important onomastic connection between Habrocomes’ symbolic dream, in which he transforms into a *horse* (ἵππος), and the friendship he strikes up shortly thereafter with Hippothous, whose name means ‘Swift-Horse’ (Ἰππόθοος).⁵³ The dream anticipates not only the friendship between these two characters but also the relevance of that friendship for Habrocomes’ developing

His relatives eventually put an end to the relationship and to Magnes’ boyhood, by cutting his hair.

⁴⁹ Morgan (2007, 461) and Tagliabue (2017, 58) suggest that she is Lyssa, embodiment of madness.

⁵⁰ The connections between the dream woman (1,12,4) and Corymbus are numerous. He leads a band of Phoenician (Φοίνικες) pirates (1,13,1), which picks up the dream woman’s scarlet (φοινικῆν) garb. According to 1,13,3, he is ‘large’ (μέγας), echoing the woman’s size (μέγεθος), and he has a fearful look (φοβερός τὸ βλέμμα) just as she herself is ‘fearful to behold (ὀφθῆναι φοβερά).’ Corymbus, moreover, leads the gang of pirates who burn the ship and drive the crew into the sea (1,14,1) as portended in the dream.

⁵¹ Konstan 2012, 291. It indicates that ‘the travels, trials, and triumph of the protagonists in Xenophon’s novel may themselves be read as a narrative of spiritual progress, like that of Apuleius’ Lucius’ (292).

⁵² Bierl 2006, 84.

⁵³ Ruiz Montero (1994, 1108) notes the connection and interprets it in relation to Hippothous’ role as Habrocomes’ helper in finding Anthia.

soul. Lest his readers miss that connection, Xenophon puns on Hippothous' name in the closing line of book 2, just before the first embedded narrative and just after the two friends have met: 'Hippothous too had a horse (ἦν γὰρ <καὶ> τῷ Ἴπποθόῳ ἵππος)' (2,14,5). Hägg notes the pun but dismisses as highly speculative the suggestion that 'Hippothous' functions as a significant name here.⁵⁴ The pun is, in my view, an important and well-timed cue. It highlights the key etymological element of the name, which recalls Habrocomes' oneiric transformation not long before. It is in this same context that Hippothous meets Habrocomes and observes that Habrocomes is 'manly' (ἀνδρικός, 2,14,2). In the company of Hippothous, he begins to fulfill the role portended by his equine dream. Habrocomes actively pursues Anthia—and on horseback no less (2,14,5). Xenophon winks at the audience: 'Hippothous too had a horse' (2,14,5).

The name 'Hippothous' also resonates with another important dimension of his own manly characterization. The *LGN* contains only two instances of 'Hippothous.'⁵⁵ The name was evidently realistic but rare. In Homer, Hippothous is a warrior, the leader of 'the tribes of the Pelasgi that rage with the spear' and brother to an 'offshoot of Ares' (*Il.* 2,840-843). More importantly, the second element of his name, the θοός in Ἴππόθουος, is a Homeric epithet for the god of war: 'swift Ares.'⁵⁶ It is no surprise, then, that Hippothous is repeatedly associated with that god in this context. Just prior to the meeting with Habrocomes, Hippothous attempts to sacrifice Anthia to the god of war beside an image of Ares and garlands (2,13,1-3), a macabre allusion to the image of the unarmed Ares and the garlands on the wedding canopy in 1,8,3. Xenophon repeats the detail a second time after Hippothous recounts his tragic backstory to Habrocomes (3,3,4). In the embedded narrative itself, Hippothous locates his home city 'near Thrace' (3,2,1), a land especially associated with Ares.⁵⁷ In the same embedded narrative, Hippothous recounts that when his beloved had been whisked away by a romantic rival he tracked him down and, filled with wrath (ὀργῆς πλησθεὶς), slayed his rival by the

⁵⁴ Hägg 1971, 37-38.

⁵⁵ Cf. Kanavou (2010, 612), who also notes one instance of the contracted form Ἴππόθουος.

⁵⁶ In Homer, most occurrences of 'swift' (θοός) refer to ships (51 instances in the *Iliad* alone). The second most common usage refers to 'swift Ares' (*Il.* 5,430; 8,215; 13,295; 13,328; 13,528; 16,784; 17,72; 17,536). θοός is also applied to the Ionian tribe of the Abantes, led by an 'offshoot of Ares' (2,540-542) and to Acamas, a Thracian warrior whom Ares impersonates in the same context as his 'swift' description (5,462). θοός is applied to no other divine being in Homer aside from Νύξ (cf. *Il.* 14,261).

⁵⁷ Eur. *Hec.* 1089-1090; Hom. *Od.* 8,361; Ov. *Ars am.* 588; Hdt. 4,62; Nonnus *Dion.* 39,182. Bierl (2006, 91) proposes a connection between Ares (Ἄρης) and 'Areia' (Ἀρείαν)—an otherwise unknown Egyptian city, which Hippothous plunders in the final book of the novel (5,2,4; 5,3,1).

sword. The very name of that rival, Aristomachus (Ἀριστόμαχος, ‘Best-in-Battle’),⁵⁸ strengthens the *militia amoris* motif.

The onomastic connection between Hippothous and Ares is highly significant and relates directly to Habrocomes’ own development in *andreia*. I argued above, following Lefteratou’s analysis of the wedding canopy, that the garlanded Ares of the *ekphrasis* represents the novel’s ideal of erotic *andreia*—a romantic virtue which, as Anthia’s rebuff suggests, Habrocomes had not yet mastered. When Hippothous first appears in the novel, he represents *andreia* in vicious excess. No longer under the aegis of Eros because of the tragic death of his beloved, he is the violent and undomesticated answer to the garlanded Ares of the *ekphrasis*. When Hippothous first sees Habrocomes and hails him as ‘manly’ it is as ‘Hippothous armed (Ἴπποθόω ὀπλισμένω)’ and grieving the loss of love (2,14,1) as compared to Ares ‘disarmed’ (οὐχ ὀπλισμένος) and adorned for his lover (1,8,3). This nexus of associations is highly suggestive, not least because the god of war is sometimes described as ‘impetuous’ (θοῦρος)⁵⁹ and ‘rash’ (θρασύς).⁶⁰ The later term is the very trait that Aristotle identified as an excess of *manliness* and which Xenophon invokes in 1,4,5 in reference to the pre-erotic Habrocomes. Hippothous, at this point in the story, represents an extreme that Habrocomes must avoid in his own development.

Hippothous’ deceased beloved, Hyperanthes (‘Exceedingly-Flowery’), may represent the opposite extreme that Habrocomes must avoid. David Konstan has argued that Ὑπεράνθης is intended to recall Ἀνθία.⁶¹ An onomastic pun at 3,2,13 highlights the etymology of his name: ‘Hyperanthes (Ὑπεράνθης)’ was a ‘famous flower (ἄνθος κλυτόν).’ It is just the sort of winking pun that Xenophon uses in connection with ‘Hippothous’ in 2,14,5. As Konstan observes, the onomastic connection with Anthia invites *synkrisis* and underscores Anthia’s remarkable courage and resourcefulness in the face of erotic aggression. She possesses *andreia*.⁶² The name may invite an association with Habrocomes as well, to the extent that ‘Hyperanthes,’ like ‘Habrocomes’ (‘Lovely-Locks’) is an apt name for a beautiful boy. Hippothous may even harbor hope that Habrocomes will become his new Hyperanthes.⁶³ The nudge towards *synkrisis* becomes stronger when Hippothous

⁵⁸ A possible association with Ares hardly requires explanation but see the repeated juxtaposition of Ares and μάχη in Euripides (*Alc.* 501-502; *Phoen.* 252-253, 1128) and Homer (*Il.* 5,35; 5,506; 5,762; 5,823; 20,138).

⁵⁹ Hom. *Il.* 5,30; 5,35; 5,355; 5,454; 5,507; 5,830; 5,904; 15,142 et al; Nonnus *Dion.* 4,52; 4,417; 5,82; 8,133.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Nonnus, *Dion.* 14,126; 23,312; 35,181-182; cf. 13,428.

⁶¹ Konstan 1994, 27.

⁶² Jones 2012, 112; Tagliabue 2017, 95.

⁶³ Schmeling 1980, 52; Jones 2012, 196-197.

pulls out a lock of his beautiful boy's κόμη and shows it to Habrocomes after recounting the death of Hyperanthes (3,3,3). The last time someone shed tears into a lock of a beloved's hair in the novel was when Anthia seized Habrocomes' κόμη on their wedding night. Hyperanthes is the younger, passive partner in a pederastic relationship and does not fully embody erotic *andreia*. He represents what Habrocomes is in the process of leaving behind as a newly-minted husband destined for a symmetrical relationship with the exceptionally 'manly' Anthia.

Although Anthia's *andreia* is heavily emphasized from book 3 onward, I observe no other onomastic play on her name in connection with that theme in the novel. There is, however, one potential significant name in the novel's second embedded narrative that may be of some relevance here. According to 5,1,6-7, Thelxinoe's hair was cut short so that she would look like a man and elude a romantic interloper, Androcles (Ἀνδροκλής, 'Renowned-Man'). Thelxinoe's symbolic transformation as she sacrifices her hair to preserve life with her lover suggests that she here embodies erotic *andreia*. It may also anticipate Anthia's similar sacrifice at the end of the novel. She stops at the temple of Helius in Rhodes and decides to offer a lock of hair to the god on behalf of Habrocomes. She then proceeds to cut off *as many locks as she is able* (5,11,6). She departs the temple well shorn. Perhaps this too is a symbolic transformation, highlighting Anthia's own *andreia* which has emerged so markedly in the preceding narrative.

The same dedication (5,11,6), which leads to a key recognition scene and the reunion of the couple, also contains the novel's final instance of onomastic play:

ON BEHALF OF HER HUSBAND HABROCOMES ANTHIA DEDICATED HAIR TO THE GOD.

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΒΡΟΚΟΜΟΥ ΑΝΘΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΜΗΝ ΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ.

The paronomasia is obvious enough on its own, but Xenophon draws attention to the κόμη and the names immediately after Anthia dedicates her locks for her Lovely-Locks.⁶⁴ In book 1, puns on 'Habrocomes' underscored his status as a beautiful boy and his dearth of manliness. Much has changed. Having developed through a painful series of trials to his chastity, he is now both 'husband' (LSJ V), which is clearly how Anthia uses the word here, and also 'no longer a mere youth' (LSJ III), a 'man indeed' (LSJ IV). With ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΒΡΟΚΟΜΟΥ Xenophon

⁶⁴ After Anthia leaves the temple, Leuco and Rhoda enter, recognize the names, and kiss the κόμη (5,12,1). They begin to look for Anthia among the Rhodians, who 'knew their names' (5,12,1). The next day, Leuco and Rhoda recognize Anthia in the temple, but only after observing the dedications and the names (5,12,3).

exploits a fruitful ambiguity that he has already made use of elsewhere (1,9,3-4; 2,1,3). The presence of Hippothous corroborates the thematic significance of the scene. The friendship between Hippothous and Habrocomes marked an important stage in the latter's manly development. The name 'Hippothous' ('Swift-Horse') was tied, by onomastic connection, to Habrocomes' symbolic change into an active, pursuing horse. At the conclusion of that dream, an equine Habrocomes finally finds the object of his pursuit and transforms into a man. That moment in Habrocomes' story has now come. It is fitting, then, that Xenophon mentions Hippothous' name immediately before and after he reports the words of Anthia's punning dedication (5,11,6).

The possibility of a thematically significant double meaning in Anthia's dedication is not limited to the use of ἀνήρ. The lead preposition ὑπέρ with the genitive in 5,11,6 could also yield: 'In the stead of the man Habrocomes, Anthia dedicated hair to the god.' This second layer of meaning would have been perfectly comprehensible to Xenophon's readers since boys marked their transition into manhood by dedicating a lock of hair to a god in a temple.⁶⁵ Habrocomes has proven to possess erotic *andreia*. Anthia has too, as her own physical transformation attests. She offers her locks in his stead, symbolically marking the growth of both characters. When they are reunited and alone shortly thereafter, the first word out of Anthia's mouth when she addresses Habrocomes is ἄνερ (5,14,1). We can be sure she means it in both senses now.

3. Theme 2: Lasting Beauty

The constancy of the couple's love is not only a function of their erotic *andreia* but also of the effect Eros has on their perception. This is a central theme in the second embedded narrative. Immediately after recounting his romantic backstory (5,1,4-9), Aegialeus tells Habrocomes that his own beloved had recently died. What happens next is, as Jones puts it, a 'sort of erotic *paideia* for Habrocomes.'⁶⁶ Aegialeus leads Habrocomes to the embalmed body of Thelxinoe. She was 'now an old woman but in Aegialeus' eyes still a young girl' (5,1,10). Shortly thereafter, Aegialeus elaborates on this remarkable fact. The sight of his beloved comforts him, 'for the way you see her now is not the way I see her. My boy, I think of her as she was in Laconia, as she was when we eloped; I think of our festival, I think

⁶⁵ Leitao 2003, 112-118.

⁶⁶ Jones 2012, 189.

of our covenant' (5,1,11). Her beauty transcends death in her lover's eyes.⁶⁷ Habrocomes learns (μεμάθηκα) that 'true love has no age limit' (5,1,12).

Tagliabue and Jones connect the miraculous preservation of Thelxinoe's beauty with the novel's interest in love that transcends limits of age and even death.⁶⁸ Konstan discerns a connection with Anthia's words to Habrocomes on their wedding night in book 1. Anthia bids Habrocomes' eyes to 'always see just what you see now and not show Habrocomes any other beautiful girl' (1,9,8). She bids the same of her own eyes. As Konstan explains, 'the eyes do not simply register beauty; they are active in seeing things as beautiful or not, and they render the heart faithful by their constancy. Love is thus able to survive alterations in appearance.'⁶⁹ Konstan detects the same theme at the couple's reunion in book 5. The protagonists are both so transformed in appearance that their faithful slaves are unable to recognize them (5,10,9; 5,12,3). Anthia and Habrocomes do recognize one another, but 'only because each has been informed in advance of the presence of the other'⁷⁰ and because 'this is what their hearts desired' (5,13,3). Konstan concludes: 'Beauty is the beginning of *erōs*, and remains its emblem, even when the hero and heroine are so transformed in looks that they are unrecognizable.'⁷¹

Konstan does not elaborate further on this theme, but it is not difficult to trace out the principal scenes in which it occurs. At the end of the civic festival where Anthia and Habrocomes fell in love, Anthia 'took in Habrocomes' handsomeness as it flowed into her' (1,3,2). As they then languished in lovesickness, 'the image of the other kept coming to mind' (1,3,4). They 'held before their eyes the sight of the other as they refashioned their mental images (εικόνας ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς) of one another' (1,5,1). On their wedding night, Anthia wants her beauty to remain unchanged and unsurpassed in Habrocomes' eyes, so that no other beauty will steal him away (1,9,8). Xenophon's interest in this theme may also be indicated by the fact that he repeatedly refers to the temporary diminution of the protagonists' good looks. When Anthia first languished in lovesickness, her parents

⁶⁷ Tagliabue 2017, 135.

⁶⁸ Jones concludes that 'the erotic lesson learned by Habrocomes from Aegialeus' narrative may also be found in Hippothous' narrative, even if it may not be explicitly stated: true love reaches beyond boundaries of age, and even beyond death' (Jones 2012, 190). Tagliabue discerns here and elsewhere an interest in deathless love and the 'timelessness of *eros*' (Tagliabue 2017, 137). He makes a compelling case that Xenophon has utilized the Isis and Osiris myth in narrating the protagonists' sojourns in Egypt to contribute to this very theme (138).

⁶⁹ Konstan 2014, 47.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

became frightened ‘as they saw her beauty fading away’ (1,5,6). Habrocomes’ parents were similarly frightened as ‘his physique had vanished away entirely’ (1,5,5). It is in this very context that ‘they refashioned their mental images of one another’ (1,5,1). Temporary assaults on their outward appearance occur throughout the novel. The torture of Habrocomes ‘disfigured his whole body’ so that ‘his blood spilled out, and his beauty died away’ (2,6,3). He continued to deteriorate during his hard service in the quarries (5,8,3). During Anthia’s own enslavement, the jealous Rhenaea abuses Anthia’s body and chops off her hair to mar her good looks (5,5,2-4). In a climactic scene at the end of the novel, Anthia chops off her own remaining hair (5,11,6). It is doubtful that the change made any difference to Habrocomes. As Konstan explains, ‘The vision that originally induced love is imprinted on the memory. The story of Aegialeus is a figure for the way in which erotic passion endures the ravages of time.’⁷²

The connection between the enchantment of the eyes and chastity is natural in the world of this Greek novel. It was Anthia’s great beauty that initially overcame Habrocomes and put him in Eros’ power (1,4,1). What will keep the same thing from happening again should another beauty come along? What will happen when Anthia’s beauty fades? This anxiety comes to overt expression in her only dream in the novel: Anthia ‘was with Habrocomes, she was beautiful and so was he, and it was the time when they first fell in love’ (5,8,5). Then a new beauty appeared and dragged helpless Habrocomes away (5,8,6). Again, at the end of the novel, Anthia asks Habrocomes, ‘did some beauty surpass me? Has no one made you forget your vows and me?’ (5,14,3). No one has. Habrocomes only has eyes for Anthia and, if the Aegialeus episode is any indication, he will always see her the way she was when they first met at their festival.

3.1 Lasting Beauty: A Literary Onomastic Analysis

The names ‘Habrocomes’ (‘Lovely-Locks’) and ‘Anthia’ (‘Blossom’) both connote transient beauty. Soft, graceful locks of a young man’s hair may be lovely, but that does not last long. Flowers swiftly bloom and swiftly wither. As a lament in Theocritus puts it, ‘the rose is fair, too, but time withers it; the violet is fair, too, in the spring, but it quickly ages; fair, too, is a boy’s beauty, but it lasts a short time’ (*Id.* 23,28-32). In *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the ephemerality of beauty becomes one of its chief virtues: ‘What can only be snatched is always fresh and blooming—its pleasure never grows old. And as much as beauty’s span is diminished in time, so it is intensified in desire. The rose for this reason is lovelier than

⁷² *Ibid.*

other plants: its beauty soon is gone' (2,36,1-2).⁷³ As Joanne Mira Seo observes, ancient lyric, epic, and funerary epigrams regarding the beautiful ephebe 'emphasize a paradoxical goal: the commemoration of an ephemeral physical perfection.'⁷⁴ This is often accomplished by reference to a boy's hair, which can function as a token of transient youth.⁷⁵

I argued above that Habrocomes' *andreia* is initially thematized in book 1 in connection with a series of onomastic puns. Something similar happens in connection with Anthia. Her body is 'blooming' (Ἀνθία/ἤνθει) at her introduction in 1,2,5 and is already 'withering' (μαραινόμενον) in lovesickness at 1,5,6.⁷⁶ On her wedding night, the first words out of her mouth are 'Truly Habrocomes, do I look beautiful to you?' (1,9,4). The girl with the flowery name then clutches the floral garlands and bids Habrocomes' eyes to always behold her as she is now and never show him another beautiful woman (1,9,4-8). In a similar manner, she presses the lovely locks of Habrocomes ('Lovely-Locks') to her eyes, accommodates (ἐφάρμοζω) her eyes to Habrocomes as his servants, and bids that no other man appear good-looking to her (1,9,6-8). The tokens of transient beauty in Anthia's hands represent the characters whose names they evoke and their own ephemeral good looks—an ephemerality that Anthia bids Habrocomes' eyes to overcome.⁷⁷

Anthia's anxiety about her beauty being unchanged and unsurpassed resonates productively with the image of Aphrodite depicted above her head. Xenophon strengthens the connection by means of another onomastic pun. The *erotes* attending to Aphrodite in 1,8,2 were 'bearing flowers' (ἄνθη φέροντες). The goddess is Anthia's mythic analog. Given Aphrodite's symbolic significance as the embodiment of ideal beauty in Imperial-period depictions, that is hardly surprising. Her beauty was reckoned immortal and unsurpassed. It was this goddess, after all, who received Paris' golden apple. More pertinently, it is by means of Aphrodite's 'immortal beauty' (κάλλει ... ἀμβροσίῳ) that Penelope is rejuvenated in her loveliness when Odysseus finally returns home at the end of the epic (Hom. *Od.* 18,190-194). This miraculous rejuvenation happens shortly after Penelope laments that her good looks had been ruined after her husband's parting (18,180-181). The reunion of Anthia and Habrocomes at the end of the novel is modeled

⁷³ The translation is from Reardon 1989.

⁷⁴ Seo 2013, 125.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 135-139.

⁷⁶ The parallels relating to Habrocomes describe the deterioration of his body and his soul (1,1,2; 1,5,5).

⁷⁷ Anthia does not bid her own eyes to maintain the image of Habrocomes as they see him now, only that no other man appear good looking to her (1,9,8).

on that famous reunion scene.⁷⁸ Anthia longs for immortal beauty. Aphrodite is a natural choice for her mythic counterpart. Chariton repeatedly exploits a similar association to highlight the divine beauty of his Callirhoe.⁷⁹

Xenophon does not dedicate other significant names to this theme until he arrives at the Aegialeus episode discussed above. His immortally beautiful beloved is called ‘Thelxinoe’ (Θελξινόη). The *LGN* database contains no instances of the name, though a single masculine equivalent (Θελξίνοος) from Sparta establishes its credentials as realistic.⁸⁰ It is the etymological dimension that ought to arrest the reader. Her name means ‘Mind-Enchanting.’⁸¹ A more fitting name could hardly be conceived. Agathon’s eulogy of Eros in the *Symposium* (Pl. *Symp.* 197e) ends with the assertion that ‘[Eros] enchants (θέλων) the thought (νόημα) of every god and man.’ And this is what Habrocomes learns from Aegialeus: ‘The way you see her now is not the way I see her. My boy, I think (έννοῶ) of her as she was in Laconia, as she was when we eloped; I think (έννοῶ) of our festival, I think (έννοῶ) of our covenant’ (5,1,11). The repetition of έννοέω underscores the onomastic connection with Θελξινόη. It also reinforces the connection with the experience of Habrocomes and Anthia in 1,3,4: ‘the image of the other kept coming to mind (έννοια)’ (cf. 1,9,6).

It is possible that another thematically significant name can be discerned a few chapters after the Aegialeus episode. Rhenaea, a jealous wife, cuts off Anthia’s hair to detract from her beauty (5,5,3-4). She, like Anthia, worries that a lover will see some other beauty and be helplessly dragged away by her. It is that anxiety that led Anthia to insist that Habrocomes’ eyes show him no other beautiful girl (1,9,8). Rhenaea’s husband, Polyidus, by contrast, sees *everything*. And that is what his name means (Πολύιδος, ‘Seeing-Much’). A pun may be intended at 5,4,7 where we are told that Polyidus ‘considered it enough simply to *look* at her (έδόκει είναι κᾶν βλέπειν μόνον).’ It is also possible that ‘Polyidus’ recalls a Homeric suitor by the same name, reinforcing Anthia’s characterization as a new

⁷⁸ De Temmerman 2014, 142-143; Tagliabue 2017, 37-40. It is also worth noting that, on their wedding night, Habrocomes describes Anthia as numbered among storied women (1,9,3).

⁷⁹ Callirhoe’s divine beauty is repeatedly modeled on the all-excelling beauty of Aphrodite (Char. 1,1,2; 2,2,6; 3,2,14; 3,2,17; 3,6,3; 3,9,1-2; 8,6,11); cf. Schmeling 2005, 38.

⁸⁰ Kanavou 2010, 612.

⁸¹ The importance of the etymology has also been recognized by Tagliabue (2017, 135).

Penelope.⁸² In 5,4,3, Polyidus shares a scene with Amphinomus, who also bears the name of a Homeric suitor.⁸³

When Xenophon sets the stage for the couple's reunion, he festoons it with flowery names.⁸⁴ The reunion occurs in Rhodes (ἡ Ῥόδος), city of the rose (τό ρόδον).⁸⁵ Rose-Bush (Ῥόδη, from ῥοδῆ) is already on the island with her partner when Habrocomes arrives.⁸⁶ Anthia (‘Blossom’) arrives shortly thereafter and becomes the guest of Althaea (‘Marsh-Mallow’), who is mentioned only this once (5,11,2) and need not have been named at all.⁸⁷ Her name is worth pausing over. Ἀλθαίη was a rare but credibly realistic name.⁸⁸ It is derived from ἀλθαία, a flower known in antiquity for healing properties.⁸⁹ De Temmerman notes that her residence ‘beside the sea’ (πλησίον... τῆς θαλάσσης) ‘reinforces the flowery imagery, since marsh mallows are found primarily on the banks of rivers, in marshes, and in the vicinity of salt water, mainly near the sea.’⁹⁰ Pliny holds that consumption of the mallow renders the consumer ‘immune to all diseases’ (*HN* 20,224). If Xenophon chose this flower for its medicinal associations, one of which was aphrodisiacal (*HN* 20,227), the choice comports well with the language of the oracle.

⁸² A Polyidus is mentioned in Apollodorus (*Epit.* 7,27) as one of Penelope's suitors. With Hägg (1971, 41), I see no similarity between Polyidus and the seer (μάντις) in Hom. *Il.* 13,663 or to the Homeric Πολύειδον, son of a reader of dreams in Hom. *Il.* 5,148, except for the single detail that Anthia receives an oracle while traveling with this Polyidus (5,4,11).

⁸³ Hägg (1971, 41) notes a vague correspondence between this latter character and his Homeric namesake.

⁸⁴ The floral names at the end of the novel make for an aesthetically pleasing feature of the climax. It may pick up the pronounced floral motif in the wedding-related scenes of book 1. The wedding canopy was bedecked by garlands and flowers (1,8,2-3), garlands represented Anthia's own person (1,9,5-6) and the domestication of Ares by Eros (1,8,3), and ‘everything was festooned with garlands’ (1,7,3).

⁸⁵ The Rhodian silver drachma bore the image of Helios on one side and the image of a rose on the other (Jacobson 2013, 16-27).

⁸⁶ ‘Rhoda’ and ‘Rhodes’ are brought together in 5,10,6, where Xenophon mentions ‘Leuco and Rhoda, who were staying in Rhodes (ὁ δὲ Λεύκων ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Ῥόδη διατριβόντες ἐν Ῥόδῳ).’

⁸⁷ Hägg (1971, 29-30) concluded that there was no clear reason for Althaea, who ‘lacks all individual traits’ (40), to receive a name while other anonymous characters do not (cf. 2,10,4; 5,9,1).

⁸⁸ Kanavou 2010, 612. The closest parallel in the *LGPN* database is an Aurelia Althea in Rome. A number of related onomastic forms suggest it was sufficiently realistic. ‘Althaea’ occurs somewhat frequently in literary sources as the mythic mother of Meleager. She is associated with Ares in Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1,8,2).

⁸⁹ Plin. *HN* 20,223-227. The mallow is mentioned nineteen times in Galen's medical writings. The *Suda* (s. v. Ἀλθαία) lists it as a proper name and, ‘according to *doctors*, a wild mallow (κατὰ δὲ ἰατροὺς ἀγρία μαλάχη).’

⁹⁰ De Temmerman 2014, 147.

The languishing of Anthia and Habrocomes was spoken of twice as a disease (νόσος) that can only be cured by their union (or, in this case, *reunion*)—a disease that led to Anthia’s ‘withering’ in 1,5,6.

There are a few indications that the lasting-beauty motif is at play here. Anthia (‘Blossom’) is lodging with an aged (πρεσβῦτις) ‘flower.’ Her habitation ‘near the sea’ recalls Habrocomes’ stay ‘near the sea’ where he found the aged (πρεσβῦτις) but immortally beautiful Thelxinoe (5,1,10). These are the only two places in the novel where the phrase πλησίον [δὲ] τῆς θαλάσσης occurs (5,1,2; 5,11,2). In 5,1,2 the phrase contributed to a pun on ‘Aegialeus’ (‘Coast-Dweller’). The connection between the two episodes is strengthened somewhat by the fact that Aegialeus’ name is invoked again in this general context, shortly before Althaea’s introduction. On his way to Rhodes, Habrocomes made an unlikely stop in Cyprus to worship their ancestral goddess (Aphrodite!) shortly after hearing about the death of Aegialeus (5,10,3). If these connections are not mere coincidence, Anthia’s stay with the elderly ‘Marsh-Mallow’ near the sea is a subtle gesture toward the theme under discussion here: a blossom can endure into old age.

Conclusions

Character names matter in Xenophon’s romance. At a prosaic but indispensable level they help maintain a realistic tone to the story, associate characters with real places in the world, and mark the bearers as Greek or non-Greek (Latin names are studiously avoided), people to relate to positively or people to despise. The *Ephesiaca*’s use of significant names is especially striking in light of De Temmerman’s observations discussed at the outset of this paper. In keeping with the canons of aphelic discourse, Xenophon generally avoids offering overt interpretive guidance by means of metaphor and authoritative narratorial voice. Under the guise of what modern readers might mistakenly reckon arbitrary labels, however, he does supply important and, sometimes, sophisticated interpretive guidance. He uses character names to supply initial characterization, invite *synkrisis*, strengthen intratextual connections between scenes, establish mythic analogs, and highlight thematically important elements in an episode. As I have attempted to demonstrate in connection with the two themes discussed above, reading the novel with sustained attention to the signifying possibilities of character names and the ways they resonate in their immediate and larger contexts not only yields interpretively significant insights, it also supplies further evidence of the *Ephesiaca*’s ‘contrived simplicity.’ There is more going on below the surface of this Greek novel than is immediately apparent.

Regarding the *andreia* theme, the preceding observations primarily supplement and corroborate the conclusions that have been emerging on other grounds in recent research. The few onomastic effects that relate to Anthia's *andreia* underscore its exceptional and paradigmatic nature. I have argued that she is assimilated not only to the Aphrodite of the wedding-night *ekphrasis* but to the garlanded Ares, icon of *andreia*, as well. At the end of the novel, Thelxinoe's symbolic transformation into a man to outwit Androcles ('Renowned-Man') may anticipate Anthia's own sacrifice of hair and symbolic transformation. When it comes to development in this erotic virtue, however, the focus is predominantly on Habrocomes. His lack of *andreia* is repeatedly thematized in book 1. His name marks him as a beautiful boy and is punned upon in a highly connotative manner in contexts dealing with his lack of *andreia*, reinforcing the sort of growth he will need to experience over the course of the narrative. A well-placed pun on his name at the end of the novel, likewise, signals to the reader that he has indeed become a man according to the erotic ideal. Along the way, several other *sprechende Namen* contribute to the same theme. Of these, the most interesting and thematically important is 'Hippothous' ('Swift-Horse'). This is where, it seems to me, literary onomastic analysis helps advance the discussion by providing greater clarity on how this character functions in relation to the theme. On the one hand, his name picks up Habrocomes' symbolic transformation into an active, pursuing horse shortly before their meeting. It is questionable, in my view, that the goal is to invite a contrast with Habrocomes in terms of the latter's 'unmanly' passivity at this point. On the other hand, the fact that the second semantic element of 'Hippothous' ('Swift-Horse') is an epithet for Ares and that Hippothous is repeatedly associated with Ares in his more violent and rash aspects in the same literary context suggests that Hippothous functions, at this point in the novel, as an answer to the garlanded Ares-in-Love of the *ekphrasis*. This is what happens to the *andreia* of even an ultimately positive character apart from the domesticating power of Eros. His manly nature veers into vicious excess. These observations comport well with De Temmerman's analysis of the way Habrocomes' *andreia* in book 1 fluctuates, in Aristotelian terms, between cowardly passivity and unmanliness on one hand and rashness on the other.

Xenophon's interest in the possibility of lasting beauty is less pronounced than his persistent focus on erotic *andreia*, and fewer onomastic effects are dedicated to serving and underscoring it. Even so, the observations offered here corroborate David Konstan's remarks on the subject and suggest that this motif deserves more scholarly attention than it has received since the publication of *Sexual Symmetry*. The puns on Anthia's name in the first half of book 1 reinforce not only her striking good looks but also the ephemerality of the same. An onomastic

connection establishes the immortally beautiful Aphrodite as Anthia's mythic analog, which nicely complements the desire she expresses below the wedding canopy for her beauty to be unfading and unsurpassed in her lover's eyes. A few names may be dedicated to this theme later in the novel, the most overt and important of which is 'Thelxinoe' ('Mind-Enchanting'). The significant name, which Aegialeus puns upon while explaining his enchanted vision, highlights the presence of an important thematic feature of the episode. The reader is encouraged thereby to recall a related motif in the courtship of Anthia and Habrocomes in book 1. When the couple is finally reunited, Habrocomes testifies to the enchantment that apparently holds sway over his own mind when he assures Anthia: 'I found no girl attractive nor any other woman pleasing to my eyes' (5,14,4).⁹¹

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