ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XXX

HELSINKI 1996 HELSINGFORS

INDEX

HOW TO ENJOY A GREEK NOVEL: CHARITON GUIDING HIS AUDIENCE

MAARIT KAIMIO

The great trial at the King's court in Babylon (5,4-8) is one of the most detailed and powerful scenes of Chariton's novel *Callirhoe*. The King is about to judge between Dionysius, Callirhoe's husband, and Mithridates, whom Dionysius accuses of an attempt to seduce his wife, when Mithridates suddenly calls into the courtroom Callirhoe's first husband Chaereas, whom everybody has assumed to be dead. The reaction of the principals and the audience of the court is immensely strong, and the author, who is an attorney's clerk by profession (1,1,1) is very proud of his skill in handling the plot and producing this effect (5,8,2): τίς ἂν φράσῃ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκεῖνο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ δικαστηρίου; ποῖος ποιητὴς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς παράδοξον μῦθον οὕτως εἰσήγαγεν; ἔδοξας ἂν ἐν θεάτρῳ παρεῖναι μυρίων πάθων πλήρει· πάντα ἦν ὁμοῦ. δάκρυα, χαρά, θάμβος, ἔλεος, ἀπιστία, εὐχαί. Χαιρέαν ἐμακάριζον, Μιθριδάτῃ συνέχαιρον, συνελυποῦντο Διονυσίῳ, περὶ Καλλιρόης ἠπόρουν. Μάλιστα γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνη τεθορυβημένη---[1]

In this scene, we find several features typical of Chariton which are

---

[1] "Who could fitly describe that scene in the court? What dramatist ever staged such an astonishing story? It was like being at a play packed with passionate scenes, with emotions tumbling over each other - weeping and rejoicing, astonishment and pity, disbelief and prayers. How happy all were for Chaereas! How glad for Mithridates! For Dionysius, how sorrowful! As for Callirhoe, they did not know what to think. She was in total confusion..." (Translations, if not otherwise stated, are from Collected Ancient Greek Novels, edited by B.P. Reardon, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1989. Chariton's *Callirhoe* is translated by B.P. Reardon.)

relevant for the theme of this paper:[2] the authorial comments upon the merits of the scene, the emphasis on emotions, especially on simultaneous, conflicting emotions, and the reactions of both the principal characters and the crowd following their actions, the emotions being emphasized by the comparison with a dramatic performance. Such features, I contend, are typical of Chariton and reflect his wish to guide the emotional reactions of his audience.

The audience of Greek novels has lately been the subject of lively discussion. The focus of interest has been on the question of what kind of audience the novels had in antiquity, especially on the educational level and the sex of the readers and on the popularity of the novels.[3] Both external information (papyri, mosaics, evidence on literacy, sale of books etc.) and internal evidence (the authors' references to the intended readership) have been used. For many reasons, these two kinds of information do not completely overlap, nor has it been possible for the author to delimit his readership after his work has been released. There is no reason why we should suppose the readership of any one of the novels to be homogeneous, nor should the possible difference between the audiences of the early novels of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus, and the later, sophistic novels be left out of account.[4] In this paper, I concern myself mainly with

---

[2] This paper was first read in the colloquium "Methods and Ways of Communication in Antiquity", organized by the University of Helsinki and the Jagellonian University of Cracow, in Helsinki 5.-6.9.1996. I am grateful for the comments expressed in this connection. Some of my arguments were briefly presented in my paper "Between Drama and History: Some Aspects of Imitation and Influence in Chariton's Romance" given at the Xth International Congress of FIEC, Québec, August 1994.

[3] See B. Wesseling, "The Audience of the Ancient Novel" in H. Hofmann (ed.), Groningen Colloquia on the Novel, Vol. 1, Groningen 1988, 67-79, K. Treu, "Der antike Roman und sein Publikum", in H. Kuch (ed.), Der antike Roman. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Kommunikation und Gattungsgeschichte, Berlin 1989, 178-197, E. Bowie, "The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World" in J. Tatum (ed.), The Search for the Ancient Novel, Baltimore and London 1994, 435-459, S.A. Stephens, "Who Read Ancient Novels?", ibid., 405-418, T. Hägg, "Orality, Literacy, and the `Readership' of the Early Greek Novel" in R. Eriksen (ed.), Contexts of Pre-novel Narrative: the European Tradition, Berlin and New York 1994, 47-81 (with a good survey and discussion of the problem).

[4] See the remarks by Hägg 1994, 52–59.

the implied audience[5] of the author, examining the phrases that possibly reveal how he expects the audience to react to his story.

Thomas Hägg has called attention to some features in the style and narrative technique of the early novels which may be at least partly explained by the wish of the authors to be easily followed and understood also by inexperienced readers or listeners. Such features could be, according to him, the stereotyped phraseology, especially the frequent use of stereotyped linking phrases between the episodes, stereotyped scenes, motifs and plots, and the frequent use of different kinds of retrospects and recapitulations as well as of different kinds of foreshadowing.[6] In such contexts, the author - who in the case of Chariton and Xenophon also functions as the narrator - often steps forward and directs the attention of the reader or listener to the point he wishes to emphasize.[7] The recapitulations serve mainly to keep the previous events in the minds of the audience and thus help them follow the turns of the plot.[8] The foreshadowings guide the audience more subtly.[9] In this context, I call attention especially to two types of anticipation of future events frequently found in Chariton.[10]

In one type the author (sometimes in the first person singular, but more often without explicit reference to his person) shortly points out what will follow next. That this is a narrative device much favoured by Chariton is seen by its frequency for instance in the opening chapters of the work: 1,1,4 "But Eros likes to win and enjoys succeeding against the odds. He looked for his opportunity and found it as follows." - 1,1,16 (of

---

5 I speak rather of the audience than of the reader (like e.g. W. Iser, The Implied Reader, Baltimore 1974), because the former term expresses better the existence of both a listening and a reading public.

6 Hägg 1994, 59-65.

7 Cf. I. Stark, "Zur Erzählperspektive im griechischen Liebesroman", Philologus 128 (1984) 128ff., R. Hunter, "History and Historicity in the Romance of Chariton", ANRW 34,2 (1994) 1066.

8 They are also useful to remind the audience if the reading aloud is divided into different sessions, and to allow a new listener to enter quickly into the plot of the story. Hägg points to the similarity with the modern TV soap opera in this respect (1994, 65).

9 The most thorough discussion of the anticipations and recapitulations found in the novels is still by Thomas Hägg, Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances: Studies of Chariton, Xenophon Ephesius, and Achilles Tatius, Stockholm 1971, Part II: The Internal Reference System, chapters 6 and 7, 213-287.

10 Cf. Hägg 1971, 215ff.

the wedding) "But just as Strife turned up there, according to the story, so did a malicious spirit here." - 1,2,6 "So he embarked on the following scheme." - 1,4,1 "Faced with the failure of his first plot, the man from Acragas now embarked on a more effective plan, thinking up the following trick." - 1,5,4 "And something strange happened, that had never happened before in a trial:" - 1,6,2 "What description could do justice to that funeral?" - 1,6,5 "And what was done in the intention of paying honor to the dead girl started a train of greater events."[11] With such expressions, the audience is not only encouraged to be attentive, but very often promised to be soon hearing something strange, unexpected or wonderful. Thus not only is the audience's cognitive capacity roused, so too is their emotive capacity. Most often the emotion called for is suspense, but in some cases, as in 1,6,2 quoted above or in the trial scene (5,8,2) quoted in the opening of this paper, the author requires admiration from the audience - not only of the described event, but of his narrative skill in describing it. This is done by a stereotyped question ("who could describe?") or affirmation ("a wonderful sight was seen") before launching into the description of a remarkable tableau or moment.[12]

The other type of anticipation I wish to call attention to is such where Chariton lets one of his characters utter guesses or forebodings of future happenings.[13] Such anticipations again stimulate the cognitive capacity of the audience, but in this case, the audience can never[14] be sure whether the subsequent events will take the turn imagined by the character or not. In fact, Chariton often seems to play with the audience, giving them either true or false clues, or clues which prove to be right in another way than is expected by the character. Thus, in 1,8,4 Callirhoe, regaining consciousness alone in her tomb, imagines that Chaereas might already be planning a new marriage. This is a good point to emphasize the utter hopelessness of Callirhoe's situation, but it is a false clue - as the reader will see, Chaereas does not marry again, such a possibility does not even

---

[11] Cf. also 2,2,8; 2,8,3; 3,2,17; 3,3,8; 3,4,10; 3,8,6; 4,1,11; 4,2,5; 4,5,3; 5,1,2; 5,8,2; 6,8,1; 7,2,6; 7,6,6; 8,1,2; 8,1,14; 8,4,1.

[12] So further in 3,8,6, where Chariton points out especially strongly the novelty of his invention of describing Callirhoe as Aphrodite or Artemis with a baby in her arms (like the Virgin Mary!); 4,1,11; 8,1,14; 8,4,1.

[13] Cf. Hägg 1971, 221ff.

[14] Except when there is an authorial confirmation linked with the expression: see Hägg 1971, 218.

enter his head. Instead, it is Callirhoe herself who will marry again, and thus there is something correct in the clue, but this will be clear to the audience only later. A different interpretation is called from the readers for instance in 5,10,7-9, where Chaereas in his farewell monologue before one of his attempted suicides promises to die, because Callirhoe loves another. This clue is immediately recognizable as false by the audience, who very well know that Callirhoe loves Chaereas, and who by their experiences of the plot of this novel (and probably by their expectations concerning the heroes of this literary genre) can guess that he cannot die in the middle of the novel. However, although this false clue does not greatly stimulate the suspense of the audience, it is effective in that it enhances their emotions, in this case the empathy and pity they feel for the unhappy hero.[15]

The capacity for strong emotions is one of the most obvious hallmarks of Chariton's characters. Love and passion rule supreme, and in their wake come fear and jealousy, sorrow and despair, happiness and joy.[16] It is evidently a positive, admirable quality in a person to be capable of intense feeling. Most of the main characters, it is true, are shown as trying to control their feelings: Callirhoe out of her sense of propriety and

---

[15] The numerous accounts of the feelings and thoughts of the characters make such anticipatory flashes very frequent in Chariton; see Hägg 1971, 224. I give here some examples of true or false clues expressed by the characters: 1,11,3 Callirhoe in the robbers' ship imagines how she shall serve as a slave in a foreign land (right), perhaps to an Athenian master (wrong). She shall in fact be sold as a slave, but not to toil for any Athenian master; 2,11,2 Callirhoe imagines the future of her unborn child, speaking of its two splendid fathers (right); 3,2,7-8 Dionysius imagines how rumour about Callirhoe's true fate will reach Syracuse and Hermocrates will come to claim his daughter back (both right and wrong: it is Chaereas who will come); 3,10,8 Callirhoe imagines how the parents of both wait for the ship which should carry them back home and how they prepare the bedchamber for them, but nobody comes (Callirhoe is in the wrong, as the audience in their expectation of a happy end might well guess - the picture of a happy homecoming is, however, a correct clue, only when it happens the parents are not expecting it at all (8,6,7)); 5,1,7 Callirhoe crossing the River Euphrates has a presentiment that she will have her final home and tomb in Bactra or Susa (false) and fears that even there somebody will fall in love with her (true).

[16] B.P. Reardon, "Theme, Structure and Narrative in Chariton", YClS 27 (1982) 1-27, emphasizes the meaning of events in the form of *agon* and emotions as the poles of the story: "The story is 'about' both; it has a double focus of interest" (11).

prudence in potentially dangerous situations,[17] Dionysius because of his good Greek education with its emphasis on self-control and temperance,[18] Artaxerxes because of his position as the supreme guardian of the law.[19] In their outward appearance, they succeed in the control of their feelings to various degrees, but they cannot control the passion itself. Thus, the efforts of control only underline the force of the emotions. As for Chaereas, he gives free rein to his feelings also in his outward behaviour. This submission to the force of love is, however, never brought forward as a negative feature; it is a sign of the irresistible power of Eros or Aphrodite.[20]

The emotions of the characters are made clear to the audience either by their own words in their frequent monologues or by the explanations of the omniscient author, of the type "when night came, it brought suffering for both, for the fire was raging in them" (1,1,8); often both methods of expression are combined. As strong feelings as such are nowhere presented by the author in a despicable light, let alone in a condescending or ridiculing tone, it is clear that the audience is meant to feel empathy for the characters during their changes of fortune. Often they know better than the characters, because the author has informed them of the true state of the affairs - for instance when Chaereas in 1,4,6 falls to the ground in the grip

---

[17] E.g. 6,2,5 "Callirhoe could not show open distress in the royal palace, but secretly she sighed to herself under her breath, cursing the festival"; 6,5,8 "Callirhoe's first impulse was to dig her nails into the eyes of this would-be pimp and tear them out if she could; but being a well-brought-up and sensible woman, she quickly remembered where she was, who she was, and who it was who was talking to her. She controlled her anger---" On Callirhoe's behaviour in this respect, see M. Kaimio, "How to Manage in the Male World: the Strategies of the Heroine in Chariton's Novel", AAntHung 36 (1995) 119-132.

[18] E.g. 2,4,4 "There was a visible conflict in him now, between reason and passion; desire was flooding over him, but his noble soul tried to bear up against it---"; 5,9,8 "As for Dionysius, he tried to endure what was happening to him in a spirit of nobility, drawing on his natural stability of character and his disciplined good breeding."

[19] E.g. 6,1,9 "'My soul, consider what you should do.---Who are you? Callirhoe's lover or her judge?'"

[20] Cf. the discussion by D. Konstan, Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres, Princeton 1994, 32f.

of shock and grief[21] on hearing about Callirhoe's alleged infidelity, the reader knows that this is merely a stratagem and a lie. In such cases, the feelings expected from the audience are apparently empathy and pity for the hero and secret gratification that things are not as bad as they seem; this also gives to the audience a titillating sense of suspense, as they are left waiting for the reactions of the hero when the truth is revealed to him, too.[22]

Sometimes the audience is made to share the distress and uncertainty of the hero. This happens especially in the handling of the great moral conflicts of the characters. There are three such great dilemmas in Chariton's novel, which are vital for the development of the plot and thus they are thoroughly described by the author. Dionysius' conflict between reason and passion[23] begins in book 2,3; first it is only a struggle to save appearances among his servants and friends, but it soon acquires serious moral dimensions when Dionysius learns that Callirhoe is a free woman of noble birth, and he is torn between his love and his principle of not forcing her against her wishes. Callirhoe's moral choice is between her fidelity to Chaereas, which to her means chastity, and the life of her unborn child. As she puts it herself, περὶ τῶν μεγίστων γάρ ἐστιν ἡ αἵρεσις, ἢ σωφροσύνης ἢ τέκνου (2,10,7). The third moral dilemma, which has great influence for the plot, is Artaxerxes' moral conflict between his love and his position as the supreme judge: he cannot act against his own laws (6,3ff.).

Such scenes probably partly owe a debt to rhetorical schooling with its speech exercises,[24] but their moral seriousness and their use for the development of the plot remind one strongly of the conflicts and fatal decisions of tragic heroes. Drama has clearly been an important source of inspiration for Chariton, as is seen expressly in his references to dramatic

---

[21] Emphasized by the author in a most poignant way by quoting from the lines of the Iliad 18,22-24, describing the agony of Achilles at the tidings of Patroclus' death. For Chariton's use of Homeric verses, see C.W. Müller, "Chariton von Aphrodisias und die Theorie des Romans in der Antike", A&A 22 (1976) 126-132, M. Fusillo, "Il testo nel testo: la citazione nel romanzo greco", MD 25 (1990) 33-43.

[22] Cf. Hägg 1971, 118f. This technique is well known from tragedy; cf. B.E. Perry, "Chariton and His Romance from a Literary-Historical Point of View", AJP 51 (1930) 125ff., Stark 1984, 260.

[23] 2,4,4 τότ' ἦν ἰδεῖν ἀγῶνα λογισμοῦ καὶ πάθους.

[24] For a survey of the meaning of rhetoric for Chariton, see C. Ruiz-Montero, "Chariton von Aphrodisias. Ein Überblick", ANRW 34,2 (1994) 1022f., 1041ff.

performance at critical moments in his novel, as in 5,8,2 cited at the beginning. But what kind of drama has Chariton in mind? It is natural that Menander is often mentioned as the model for Chariton.[25] The type of comedy Menander represents has, of course, as its central story a love intrigue leading to a happy union in marriage, like Chariton has, and it is easy to point out similarities in the construction of plot or presentation of types. But in many ways tragedy, especially Euripidean tragedy, seems to be a more powerful source of inspiration for Chariton.[26] For one thing, the main figures created by him are larger than life, as in tragedy.[27] They are not next-door members of the city bourgeoisie, as in Menander, but more noble by their birth, more beautiful, and, of course, more prone to accidents. They certainly are σπουδαῖοι and "better than we", as Aristotle (Poet.1448a1-18) wants the tragic heroes to be. For another, as we have seen, the main developments of the plot are due to the decisions - or indecisions - of the principals involved, made after great inner conflict and earnest deliberation. There are even clear echoes of tragedy in these scenes. Callirhoe explicitly compares her designs for her child to those of Medea, and abstains from abortion (which she considers equal to murdering her child) partly because she sees that her situation is not identical with the heroine of Euripides, in that she, Callirhoe, loves her husband, while Medea hated hers (2,9,2-5). Like Medea in the famous monologue of Euripides (Med. 1021-1080), she wavers abruptly between the two possibilities.[28] In Dionysius' moral conflict, again, there are certain similarities with the description of Phaedra in Euripides' *Hippolytus*. Both are noble and conscious of the illicit nature of their passion, both go through the same three phases: first they try to conceal their emotions, then to suppress them through self-discipline, and finally, they decide to die. Both confide in their servants, refuse at first to follow their advice, but accept their help later. These may be conscious

---

25 E.g. G.L. Schmeling, Chariton, New York 1974, 46ff.

26 A very different characterization of Chariton is given by G. Anderson, Eros Sophistes: Ancient Novelists at Play, Chico 1982, where his novel is seen as a new comic melodrama, largely inspired by New Comedy (13-21). For the influence of drama on Chariton, see the surveys by Hunter 1994, 1063f., Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1018ff.

27 Cf. G. Molinié, Chariton. Le roman de Chairéas et Callirhoé, Paris 1979, 35.

28 2,9,3 "And then again she changed her mind, and pity came over her for her unborn child."

reflections.[29] Such cases of tragic intertextuality should not be regarded as mere embellishments, but as a means of emphasizing the serious nature of the conflict and thus giving depth to the presentation of the characters' emotions.

The detailed description of such conflicts is also a means of capturing the interest and empathy of the audience. The reader is forced to follow the agonizing arguments before he or she knows which turn the events will take as a result of the deliberation. This is a feature apparently typical of many works of Hellenistic literature. Demetrius, the author of *Peri hermeneias*, who might be nearly contemporary with Chariton, applauds the historiographer Ctesias' vividness of style in that he understands the need to unfold the development of events gradually, thus keeping the hearer in suspense and forcing him to share the distress of the persons he is writing about (συναγωνιᾶν 4,126).

A more temporary excitement of the main character is often described by Chariton by the stereotyped expression of mixed contrary emotions,[30] as for instance when Callirhoe in her tomb hears the noise made by the grave-robbers: 1,9,3 τὴν Καλλιρόην κατελάμβανεν ὁμοῦ πάντα, φόβος, χαρά, λύπη, θαυμασμός, ἐλπίς, ἀπιστία. "Callirhoe was gripped by a variety of emotions - fear, joy, grief, surprise, hope, disbelief."[31] This stereotype does not so much emphasize the strength of the emotions, but the confusion raging in the character's mind. It also activates the reader's mind. Every word prompts the reader to think about the conditions that could evoke such emotional reactions: Callirhoe must be afraid that there is something dangerous coming up; she must be glad because there might be the possibility of a rescuer, etc. Callirhoe's following monologue then explicitly takes up some of these possibilities. The effect of stimulating the audience is even more clear in 8,5,8, where Artaxerxes has learnt everything that has happened from his queen and read the letter sent by Chaereas: "The King was filled with countless

---

[29] Cf. Eur. Hipp. 391-402 vs Char. 2,4,1; 2,4,4; 3,1,1; Hipp. 486-524 vs Char. 2,6.

[30] A word combination used by A. Heisermann, The Novel before the Novel: Essays and Discussions about the Beginnings of Prose Fiction in the West, Chicago and London 1977, 120. This stereotype is discussed more in detail by M. Fusillo, "Le conflit des émotions: un topos du roman grec érotique", MH 47, 1990, 201-221.

[31] Fusillo (205) points out the characteristic asyndetic co-ordination of abstract nouns and the novelty of thus connecting emotions which in Aristotle's Rhetorics (1378a19ff) are discussed as opposites.

emotions as he read it: he was angry[32] at the capture of his dear ones, he regretted making Chaereas go over to his enemies, and then again he was grateful to him that he could not see Callirhoe anymore.[33] But above all he was envious." In this context, the King's conflicting emotions are clearly used as a means of recapitulation: the reader is reminded of the previous events through the King's recorded reactions to them. I contend that one reason for the frequency of these expressions of mixed contrary emotions lies in their capacity to stimulate the audience to remember past events or to anticipate the different possibilities of future events.

In some of such enumerations of different feelings, the mixed emotions are not an expression of the confusion felt by one character, but are presented as the emotions of a group of people. This leads us to a characteristic which is very typical of Chariton: again and again, the effect of the events upon the community surrounding the main characters is told,[34] as in the example which opened this paper (5,8,2). The climax of the trial with the appearance of Chaereas was there compared with a dramatic performance, where there is a complexity of emotions.[35] After the stereotyped enumeration of the emotions (δάκρυα, χαρά, θάμβος, ἔλεος, ἀπιστία, εὐχαί), the author immediately enlarges upon this theme, explaining that "*they* proclaimed Chaereas happy, rejoiced with Mithridates, grieved with Dionysius, were at a loss regarding Callirhoe. For she was quite confused---"[36] Who are *they*? They are not the protagonists themselves, but the mass of people who are present at the trial. They share the feelings with which, out of their knowledge of the situation, they credit the protagonists. In point of fact, although some of the nouns used to express emotions probably reflect the feelings of the

---

[32] In this variation, verbs expressing emotions are used instead of abstract nouns.

[33] Reardon (1989) suspects that there may be some words missing in the text, to the effect that the King "was grateful to him that [he had treated the queen well, but sorry that] he could not see Callirhoe anymore" (118 n. 130).

[34] This feature is briefly mentioned by E.H. Haight, Essays on the Greek Romances, New York 1943, 26f., Hägg 1971, 260, Molinié 1979, 36f., and Hunter 1994, 1061. See also L. Cicu, "La poetica di Aristotele e il romanzo antico", Sandalion 5 (1982) 133f.

[35] Cicu 1982, 109ff. calls attention to the similarity of these complex emotions to those mentioned in rhetorical treatises on *narratio in personis privatis*, e.g. ad Her. 1,12-13 and Cic. de inv. 1,19; Chariton, as a clerk of the rhetor Athenagoras, was naturally familiar with Hellenistic rhetorical theory.

[36] I use here my own, literal paraphrase; cf. the translation by Reardon quoted in n. 1.

main characters themselves (like tears, joy, surprise, disbelief), not all of them do: the onlookers to whom it was apt to feel pity or express prayers are also implied.[37] Also the word θέατρον used in the comparison to a dramatic performance alludes more to the auditorium of the theatre and thus to the feelings of the spectators than to the stage and the feelings of the characters of the play.

In this comparison, the crowd surrounding the principals of the novel in the trial come very near to the audience of the novel, and the manifold reactions of the crowd subtly reflect the reactions which the author expects his audience to feel. This impression is strengthened at the continuation of the scene. The author shortly returns to Callirhoe's feelings and behaviour, with a short authorial comment in the first person singular. Then he launches on a remarkable quarrel scene between the two husbands of Callirhoe (5,8,5-6), in the style of tragic *antilabai*,[38] and ends the dialogue with a reference to the listeners: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἤκουον οὐκ ἀήδως - "and the audience enjoyed it." Here, for once, the audience of the trial seems to be quite detached from the feelings of the protagonists - the trial audience simply stand back, relax and enjoy the violent altercation. Chariton seems to be inviting the audience of his novel to enjoy it, too, and especially to enjoy his skilful exchange of retorts.

But such detachment of the audience - inside or outside the novel - is exceptional in Chariton. Typically, their emotional reactions closely accompany those of the main characters. Thus we could say that the emotions are felt on three levels, firstly by the characters themselves (expressed by themselves or told by the author), secondly by the people of the story surrounding them, and thirdly by the real audience following the story. Only exceptionally does Chariton refer to the third level of emotions explicitly: it happens, though, in the introduction to the final book, where

---

[37] I take the meaning of εὐχαί in this passage to be nearly equivalent to "congratulations, good wishes", as in 3,5,3 (where the word is used to form a contrasting pair with tears); 8,4,11; 8,8,12. Cf. F. Conca, E. de Carli and G. Zanetto, Lessico dei romanzieri greci, vol II 1989 (s.v.) "1. preghiera, voto, augurio", without, however, differentiating these meanings in the passages cited.

[38] It is evident that the model for this scene is Eur. Hel. 1632ff., namely the altercation between King Theoclymenus and the Servant; in both cases, the subject of the altercation is which of the two rivals has a better claim as a husband. Cf. M.M.J. Laplace, "Les légendes troyennes dans le 'roman' de Chariton, *Chairéas et Callirhoé*", REG 93 (1980) 98. I do not, however, agree with Laplace's thesis of Chariton's extensive utilization of a Trojan legend.

he promises that this chapter will be the most agreeable to the readers (8,1,4), and it is very near in the example of the trial scene discussed above (5,8,6). Usually, however, Chariton guides his audience's reactions by showing them the inside environment's reactions and thus inveigling them into sharing it or at least into reacting to it. We can see the method for instance when Chaereas at the beginning of the story is so unhappy that he stays away from his habitual sporting pursuits: "The gymnasium missed Chaereas; it was almost deserted, for he was the idol of the young folk. They asked after him, and when they found out what had made him ill, they all felt pity for a handsome youth who looked as if he would die because his noble heart was broken" (1,1,10). Here, the feelings of Chaereas' friends are caused by the feelings of Chaereas, but they are different - he suffers, they feel pity. In this way, both Chaereas' *pathos* is emphasized and the plot is carried forward as the friends, because of their pity, take the initiative in pressing Chaereas' suit. At the same time, the emotional reaction of the friends serves as a model for the reader. In the example quoted above, the emotional levels of the surrounding community and the reader partly coincide: when the author says ἐπόθει τὸ γυμνάσιον and ἐφίλει ἡ νεολαία, the feelings are so to speak inside the story - the reader is not supposed to miss or love Chaereas. But when he says ἔλεος πάντας εἰσῄει μειρακίου καλοῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἀπολέσθαι διὰ πάθος ψυχῆς εὐφυοῦς, he is involving the outside audience in the group of πάντες, since ἔλεος, pity, is an emotion which can very well be experienced by those outside the story.[39] Here, the effect upon the reader is moreover emphasized by the brief recapitulation of the grounds for the emotion.

Chariton uses the vehicle of the emotions of the people surrounding the characters - fellow citizens, townspeople, servants or soldiers - with subtle variations to guide his reader. A stereotype is the wonder and admiration felt by the crowd at the sight of the hero or heroine, as when after the marriage ceremony Chaereas and Callirhoe step out of the house, "the whole crowd was struck with wonder, as when Artemis appears to hunters in lonely places; many of those present actually went down on their knees in worship. They all thought Callirhoe beautiful and Chaereas lucky"

---

[39] Aristotle emphasizes that pity is felt by those who are not too preoccupied with their own emotions, e.g. fear (Rhet. 1385b 29-33). Pity is one of the main points of Aristotle's discussion of the effect peculiar to tragedy on its audience (e.g. Poet.1449b27; 1453b5ff).

(1,1,16). In such cases, the outside audience's emotions are not actually involved; the emphasis on the inside onlookers only hammers home the truth of the overwhelming beauty of the heroine.[40]

Often the reader is apparently expected simply to share the emotional reactions of the people (ὁ δῆμος), the crowd (τὸ πλῆθος), or of everybody (πάντες).[41] After the rejected suitors staged traces of a nightly *komos* around Chaereas' door, in the morning everybody was very curious about it: πᾶς ὁ παριὼν εἱστήκει κοινῷ τινι πολυπραγμοσύνης πάθει (1,3,3). The reader's curiosity, too, is thus ensured, and the author immediately satisfies it by relating what happened. Very commonly the crowd reacts to the main characters' laments or sufferings by bursting into tears or wails themselves, for instance when Chaereas demands the severest possible penalty for himself, "at these words a cry of grief burst forth; everybody abandoned the dead girl in sorrow for the living man" (1,5,6) or when Callirhoe, with tears, refers to her falling into slavery, "Dionysius too was moved to tears, and so were all those present" (2,5,7).[42] In a way, this technique reminds us of modern comedy programmes on television with the canned laughter of an invisible audience - except that in Chariton's novel, the story usually involves not ready-made laughter, but ready-made tears, in the style θρῆνον τὸ πλῆθος ἐξέρρηξεν ἐπὶ τούτοις, "at this the crowd broke out in lamentation" (3,3,7).

Sometimes the real audience knows better than the people of the story, as when Callirhoe faints when she is told of her impending wedding and "the spectators thought it maidenly modesty" (1,1,14), while the audience knows that she is in love with Chaereas, or when Chaereas has

---

[40] Cf. 1,14,1; 2,2,2; 2,5,4; 4,1,9; 4,7,6; 5,3,9. It can be noted that Chariton never actually describes his heroine's looks, but resorts to a comparison with a goddess or to a general impression of radiance. Soft, white skin and an impression of becoming clothes is the most detailed information we get from her outward appearance. In this he differs from the other novelists, who all hasten to describe in detail the looks of their heroines and sometimes heroes (Xen.Eph. 1,2, Ach.Tat. 1,4, Longus 1,13 of Daphnis, 1,17 of Chloe, Heliod. 1,2 and 3, 3-4).

[41] I have examined in detail the use of these terms in Kaimio 1995 (see n.17), 121-123. There are usually no class distinctions visible in the use of these terms. Δῆμος is frequently used of the Syracusans, emphasizing the Greek democracy of this city; of the Persians, it is used in such instances where there is an opposition between the nobility and the ordinary people (5,4,1; 6,2,1; see Kaimio 1995, 122 n. 19).

[42] Similarly θρῆνος or equivalent in 3,3,7; 4,3,5; 4,3,11; 8,4,9; 8,8,2; ἔλεος or equivalent in 3,4,10; 4,12,14; both emotions in 4,1,12.

kicked Callirhoe unconscious and "wailing was to be heard on all sides" (1,5,1), because the people thought she was dead, while the reader has just been informed that Callirhoe "looked to everyone as if she were dead". Such expressions strengthen the general emotional atmosphere and at the same time give to the outside audience a pleasant sense of superiority.[43]

Again, especially at climactic points, Chariton paints the crowd in the grip of many conflicting emotions at once. We have already seen an example of this at the climax of the great trial (5,8,2).[44] Sometimes the same people have good reason to feel conflicting emotions, such as when they hear the truth about Callirhoe's slavery, "joy and grief came over everyone - joy that Callirhoe was alive, grief that she had been sold" (3,4,15). Again a good reminder to the audience how they should feel at this moment of the plot. But more often these crowd scenes contain mixed contrary emotions because there are so many different people who naturally also react differently.[45] Such is the important event of sending the Syracusan trireme in search of Callirhoe (3,5,3):[46] "On the appointed day of departure the people all hurried to the harbor, not just men, but women and children too; and prayers were joined with tears, groans of despair, words of consolation, fear, confidence, despair, hope." The model for this emotional scene is clearly Thucydides' description of the departure of the Athenian fleet for Sicily (6,30-31), where different groups of people are mentioned (Athenians and non-Athenians; citizens with their sons and other members of the family) as well as conflicting emotions felt both by one and the same person (fear and confidence) and by different kinds of persons (strong emotions of the citizens, cool curiosity of the strangers). The deeply moving tableau painted by Thucydides at this great moment of Athenian history[47] has in Chariton's hands turned into a melodrama: the strong emotions are enumerated quickly, and then follow some examples illustrating the more sombre part of the list: the farewell scenes with

---

43 Other examples in 3,1,3; 3,4,2; 3,4,10. This effect is, however, more often sought simply with the erring character, without the erring crowd, see p. 54f.

44 See p. 57f.

45 Cf. Fusillo 1990b (see n. 30), 207f.

46 Other examples 3,4,1; 7,6,5; 8,4,1; 8,6,5-6.

47 Cf. also the Thucydidean descriptions of the sea battle at Syracuse, with the infantry following on the shore (7,71) and of the departure of the Athenians, leaving the sick and wounded behind (7,75).

Chaereas' father and mother and the secret departure of Polycharmus.

In some of Chariton's crowd scenes, the people are differentiated in a way that suggests that the author is thinking of his differentiated readership, as when the reactions of people of different age and sex are specifically mentioned. In some instances, the presence of women (and sometimes children, too) in the gathered crowd or assembly is merely mentioned,[48] but elsewhere their special interest in Callirhoe is explicitly brought forward. When the people in the assembly have persuaded Hermocrates to give his daughter to Chaereas, the author tells that "the young men went off to find Chaereas, the council and archons escorted Hermocrates, and the Syracusans' wives too went to his house, to attend the bride" (1,1,12-13). In connection with the great trial in Babylon, Chariton twice charts the different opinions of the crowd, giving each time four different argumentations according to the sex of the public and the candidate they are supporting.[49] At the end of the novel, the participation of the women in the joy of the homecoming of the couple is especially noticeable.[50] I take this as an indication that Chariton expected his audience to consist of both sexes and, when he hoped that his female readers would feel sympathy for Callirhoe, he anticipated this by describing how the female crowd reacted and behaved.[51]

Recapitulating the feelings that Chariton assigns to the crowd surrounding the main characters of his story we can elicit what kind of emotional reactions he hoped and expected from the audience of his novel. Most frequently he describes feelings of pity and sorrow - ἔλεος, θρῆνος, λυπή, κλαίειν, πενθεῖν are the kind of words he uses.[52] The beauty of the hero and heroine excites feelings of astonishment and wonder (verbs like θαυμάζειν, μακαρίζειν). Sometimes a happy turn of the plot causes the people to feel joy (χαρά), although in the middle of events it may be mixed with sorrow. Sometimes the curiosity (πολυπραγμοσύνη) or surprise

---

48 As in 3,4,4; 3,5,3; 8,7,1.

49 5,4,1-2; 6,1,2-5.

50 8,6,11; 8,7,1-2.

51 For a more detailed discussion of these scenes, see Kaimio 1995, 122ff. Cf. also Konstan 1994, 77-78.

52 Cf. W. Bartsch, Der Charitonroman und die Historiographie, Diss. Leipzig 1934, 28ff., who, however, bases his discussion too much upon the comparison between historiography and the novel, to the detriment of the influence of tragedy and rhetoric.

(ἔκπληξις) of the people is emphasized; a similar effect on the reader is achieved with authorial comments promising a wonderful, unbelievable turn of fortune (παράδοξον, ἄπιστον). Thus the reader's emotional pleasure[53] is envisaged by Chariton to consist of intense empathy for the various feelings raised in the protagonists by their fortunes, and sometimes of the detachment brought by superior knowledge. Thus far, the enjoyment raised by the novel is not too far removed from the pleasure raised by tragedy. In the end, however, the catharsis offered by Chariton is the sweeping away of all the unpleasant and gloomy things he has been telling about, as he informs us at the beginning of his last book.[54] The final movement from lamentations, θρῆνοι, to cries of well-wishing, εὐχαί, is essential for Chariton's novel and the greatest pleasure, ἥδιστον, he offers to his audience.

Thus, we have seen that Chariton uses frequently and with considerable variation and skill the emotional reactions of the crowd as a vehicle in his narrative technique, emphasizing the *pathos* experienced by his characters and creating an emotional model for the audience of his novel. Did Chariton imitate a pattern found in earlier literature? We can find some examples resembling his technique in many kinds of narrative. In Homeric epics, we find phrases reflecting traditional mourning rituals, where a relative or a friend of the deceased began the lament, and other mourners answered with wailing cries - ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες (Il.24,722; 746), ἐπὶ δ' ἔστενε δῆμος ἀπείρων (Il.24,776).[55] We find in Homer also short speeches expressing the emotions and opinions of a crowd, sometimes opposing the chieftains and often referred to as spoken by a nameless somebody, τις; these have been called choric speeches.[56]

---

[53] This is not necessarily the only kind of pleasure Chariton hopes to give to his audience. According to their capacities, they can also derive pleasure from the torrent of events, the characterization of the protagonists, his style, his intertextual references to Homer, tragedy, historiography, etc.

[54] 8,1,4 νομίζω δὲ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο σύγγραμμα τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἥδιστον γενήσεσθαι· καθάρσιον γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σκυθρωπῶν. For Chariton and *catharsis*, see the surveys by Hunter 1994, 1070, Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1019.

[55] See M. Kaimio, The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number Used, Helsinki 1970, 25f.

[56] E. Hentze, "Die Chorreden in den homerischen Epen", Philologus 18, 1905, 254-268; Kaimio 1970, 26f.

Frequently, after a speech the reaction of the listeners is told, as for instance when Agamemnon tests his army with the suggestion of return: Il. 1,142 ὣς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρινε / πᾶσι μετὰ πληθὺν, or when Odysseus asks the Phaeacians to carry him home: Od. 7,226 ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον ἠδ' ἐκέλευον / πεμπέμεναι τὸν ξεῖνον. Such epic turns of phrase were naturally familiar to Chariton, although one cannot point out clear instances of imitation.[57]

The situation found in the Homeric examples mentioned last is very common in historiography, and here we can find a clear model of narrative pattern. For instance in Xenophon, a speech situation is frequently closed with a sentence like "so they spoke, and the soldiers applauded" (Anab. 1,3,7).[58] This kind of reaction of the soldiers is used by Chariton in books 7 and 8, in which Chaereas has the role of a military commander.[59] There are also occasional examples of more emotional reactions, where the crowd echoes the reaction of a protagonist, as in Herodotus 3,14, when he tells how Psammenitus, who had not cried at his daughter's or son's misfortunes, cried for a friend, and when hearing his explanation, both Croesus and the Persians present cried, or in 3,66, where the Persians hearing Cambyses' words and seeing him crying burst into wailing. We have already noted that Chariton occasionally used Thucydides as his model for a highly pathetic scene,[60] and in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* we find several scenes with a crowd expressing their emotions, which may have directly inspired Chariton. Compare with the farewell scene of Chaereas, with men, women and children crowding into the harbour (3,5,3), the farewell scene of young Cyrus (Xen.Cyr. 1,4,25), where "the whole world poured out to speed him on his journey - little children and lads of his own age, and grown men and greybeards on their steeds, and Astyages the king. And, so says the chronicle, the eyes of none were dry when they turned home again."[61] And the story of Araspas in Cyr. 5,1,2ff.

---

[57] Note, however, the similarity between the ritual laments in Homer and the "threnodic" expressions of Chariton (above p. 60f.). For Homeric influence in Chariton in general, see Schmeling 1974, 42ff., Müller 1976, 126ff., Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1017f.

[58] Further e.g. Xen.Anab. 1,3,2; 1,4,9; 1,4,16; 1,5,11; 1,7,8; 2,1,4; 2,1,9; 5,1,3; 5,1,4; 5,1,14; 5,7,13; 6,4,22.

[59] Char. 7,3,3; 7,3,4; 7,3,10; 7,3,11; 8,2,11; 8,2,13.

[60] See p. 61.

[61] Translation by H.G. Dakyns (first published 1914) from Xenophon: The Education of Cyrus, Everyman's Library, London and Rutland, Vermont 1992.

very much resembles Chariton's description of the events on Arados island 7,6,6ff. - a soldier comforting a beautiful captive woman that she will have the commander-in-chief as her man, the woman protesting in despair, as she loves her lost husband. Both women cry out and rend their hair or veil, while Xenophon adds that "her maidens lifted up their voice and wept with their mistress" (5,1,6).

It is difficult to say whether the Hellenistic historiographers[62] like Ctesias, Duris or Phylarchus, who were known for their use of pathetic scenes, developed the use of these expressions in the manner seen in Chariton, since even if they did use them, such expressions were very likely to be dropped out of the quotations from which we mainly know their works.[63] It seems likely that such expressions emphasizing the emotional impact of the scene, already occasionally used by the classical historiographers, were increasingly favoured by them. In a historical narrative, though, however pathetic in style, the reactions of an emphatic crowd, who are not too much involved in the fortunes themselves, are probably not a very consistent feature, partly because there is no central hero in the narrative,[64] partly because it is more moving to emphasize the feelings of a suffering mass of people themselves, e.g. in connection with a captured city.[65] The consistent use of a loyal admiring, fearing, crying and pitying crowd accompanying the much more piercing emotions of the heroes and heroines is a development apparently peculiar to the early novel as we know it from Chariton. Especially in the scenes taking place in Syracuse, this device is also apt to emphasize the Greek democracy of the community, as is seen in its frequent use in different kinds of assembly

---

62 For the influence of historiography, especially of the so-called "tragic" history, on Chariton see Bartsch 1934, Schmeling 1974, 51ff., A.D. Papanikolaou, Chariton-Studien. Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Chronologie der griechischen Romane, Göttingen 1975, 16ff., E. Gabba, "True History and False History in Classical Antiquity", JRS 71 (1981) 52ff., Hunter 1994, 1058ff., Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1013ff.

63 The only slightly similar passages that I have found are Ctes.688 F 1b = Diod.2,4,5 and F 1 q = Athen. 12,8 529c-d, where people are said to be wondering (θαυμάζειν) at some strange happenings around them.

64 Except in biographies, where the vicissitudes of the political hero may have been greatly emphasized emotionally, cf. the conditions placed by Cicero on his friend Lucceius, ad fam. 5,12,4-6. Cf. Schmeling 1974, 54f.

65 Polybius when criticizing Phylarchus gives an example of such a description (2,56,6-8) and sums up: ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν, πειρώμενος ἐν ἑκάστοις ἀεὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι τὰ δεινά.

scenes. But also in the autocratic Persian environment, Chariton presents the people as endlessly interested in the fortunes of the noble and beautiful.

Hellenistic historiography was much influenced by tragedy, but Chariton also shows the direct influence of tragedy, as we have seen.[66] It is possible that the emotional crowd as a device of narrative technique owes partly to tragedy, because it is in tragedy that we find the use of a similar body of people surrounding the main heroes and reacting constantly to their sayings, doings and feelings - the chorus, who express their reaction either in the short couplets of verse after the speeches of the actors or in their own choric songs. I think that Chariton has consciously imitated this feature of the tragedy, since he has found it a very suitable vehicle for guiding his audience in the new form of narrative he is writing.[67] The use of crowd scenes is also apt to appeal to a listening public, making it easy for them to identify with the emotions described.[68]

Since the other specimens of early Greek novel are mostly lost, apart from meagre fragments, we cannot know how commonly and in what way other early authors used these expressions so typical of Chariton. A comparison with the extant novels, however, shows that although many of them had clearly become stock expressions, Chariton's way of using them is his own. A comparison with Xenophon of Ephesus is particularly illustrative, since his novel is the only other one among the extant Greek novels which does not show the stylistic ideals of the second sophistic movement. Xenophon has quite a number of expressions which on the surface level are used similarly by Chariton. Thomas Hägg has called attention to them,[69] characterizing the reactions and interpretations of an observing and commenting collective as "a kind of intermediary between the individual characters and the reader." He notes the similarity of such

---

66 Cf. p. 55f.

67 Cf. Cicu 1982, 134: "Dal prologo all'"esodo" del romanzo di Caritone dunque il "coro" si rivela elemento non secondario della struttura narrativa."

68 There may have been similar elements in the oral traditions of story-telling through the centuries; cf. the frequent reactions of the students of Xanthus, the professor, to Aesopus' witticisms in *Vita Aesopi,* and the sympathizing women around Thecla in *Paul and Thecla.* See T. Hägg, "Den opopulära populärlitteraturen - romantiserad biografi och historisk roman", in Ø. Andersen and T. Hägg (eds.), I skyggen av Akropolis, Bergen 1994, 312, 332.

69 Hägg 1971, 123 (without, however, a comparison with Chariton's usage).

passages and those with an impersonal phrase (ἦν δὲ τὸ θέαμα ἐλεεινόν) and concludes that "obviously, there is only a slight difference in effect between the usual undisguised author's point of view and the occasional introduction of a passive witness who reflects the happenings." This may be true of Xenophon, but could not be said of Chariton.

In fact, when we take a closer look at these passages of Xenophon, we note that one characteristic of Chariton is almost non-existent in Xenophon: the sympathetic crowd entering helplessly and whole-heartedly into the feelings of the protagonists. The only crowd scenes which are frequent in Xenophon are those where the people admire the beauty of the protagonists, often worshipping them as if they were gods.[70] A rejoicing crowd is naturally present at their wedding and their final reunion.[71] When they start for a sea-journey, the people follow them to the harbour,[72] but this is usually mentioned merely as a stereotypic addition, without reference to the people's feelings.[73] There is a highly emotional farewell scene in 1,10,9-10, but here the shouts, tears and lamentations heard from the ship and the shore are explicitly those of the parents and children, not of those sympathizing with them. Similarly, in one of the instances of θέαμα ἐλεεινόν, pitiful sight (1,14,2), there are no outsiders pitying the passengers of the ship in the hands of the pirates, because in addition to the victims, only the pirates are present, and of course they do not feel pity. As Hägg suggests,[74] the expression is very near to an authorial comment. Of course, the captured and the burning victims can also call each other a pitiful sight, as they exchange remarks over each other's fate. The authorial tone is even more clear in the other instance of "a pitiful sight" (2,6,3), when Habrocomes is tortured: there is no pitying crowd, and all the people present (Apsyrtus, Manto, Moeris, slaves) except Anthia have good reason not to feel pity at the sight.

The only scenes where a crowd expresses empathy for the distress of

---

[70] Xen.Eph.1,1,3; 1,1,6; 1,2,5; 1,2,7 (in these instances, the reactions of the crowd are mentioned as being habitual, and so the formulaic use of the expression is emphasized); 1,2,7-8; 1,12,1; 2,2,4; 5,7,3.

[71] 1,7,3; 5,13,1; 5,13,3.

[72] 1,10,5-6; 1,12,3; 5,15,1.

[73] Only in 1,10,5 are prayers and tears mentioned; the tears emphasize their affection for the young couple, not the feelings of the young couple themselves.

[74] Hägg 1971, 123.

the characters are 3,7,1, where Perilaus cries out at the apparent death of Anthia and the whole household feel grief, fear and terror,[75] and 5,6,2, with a short mention that "the couple's parents and all Ephesus were in great distress, since no messenger and no letters had come from them."[76] In fact, more often the crowd's reaction forms a contrast to the character's feelings or actions. In 2,10,3, when Habrocomes is offered a wife for recompense, "the whole household was glad for Habrocomes and thanked the master on his behalf. But he himself was very distressed over Anthia." And in some instances, at a character's distress the crowd tries to console and hearten him (with the stereotypic expression θαρρεῖν παρεκάλουν or sim.).[77] Thus, while Xenophon of Ephesus certainly often uses similar expressions for the behaviour of the crowd as Chariton and thus shows them to be part of the stock-in-trade of the early novelists, he uses them much more casually and superficially, without creating the vibrating emotional background which consistently guides the audience in Chariton.

In the three extant sophistic novels, such straightforward methods of ensuring the sympathy of the audience do not play any remarkable role. In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, the focus of the story is on the inner feelings of the youngsters, which develop in lonely pastures, reflecting the nature surrounding them; crowds of people are irrelevant to this story. In the rare occasions when one or the other of the pair does encounter other people than their nearest, individually named neighbours, we can detect a skilful adaptation of the old clichés: Daphnis, accused by the Methymneans, after his defence "burst into tears and made the villagers feel very sorry for him" [78](2,17,1), after which they "got excited and swooped down on them like starlings or jackdaws."[79] When the couple at last make their appearance in town, there is the usual astonishment at the beauty of the

---

[75] This scene is rather richly painted with the stereotype of "mixed contrary feelings": θόρυβός τε πολὺς τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἦν καὶ πάθη συμμιγῆ, οἰμωγή, φόβος, ἔκπληξις. οἱ μὲν ᾤκτειρον τὴν δοκοῦσαν τεθνηκέναι, οἱ δὲ συνήχθοντο Περιλάῳ, πάντες δὲ ἐθρήνουν τὸ γεγονός. The reader knows that Anthia is not dead.

[76] Translations of Xenophon of Ephesus are by G. Anderson, from Reardon (ed.) 1989.

[77] 1,11,1; 3,10,3. This expression is also used of a named consoling friend, as in 5,2,1; 5,10,12. In Chariton, this function is most often played by Polycharmus, never by the crowd. In Xenophon 5,7,4, the crowd (this time customers of a brothel), after their initial shock, even give a helping hand to Anthia, who is feigning an attack of epilepsy.

[78] Translation by C. Gill in Reardon (ed.) 1989.

[79] A Homeric simile (Il. 17,755), as Gill points out ad loc.

pair, the men sympathizing with Daphnis' father, the women with his mother (4,33,3) - but the author adds the novelty that many rich ladies prayed that they should be believed to be the mother of Chloe. And of course "everybody" (their families and the villagers) accompanies them singing to the bedchamber after the wedding (4,40,1-2), but then the singing is, appropriately to this milieu, described as harsh and rough.

Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* is, after the opening scene, told by the hero in the first person singular, and this of course affects the narrative technique deeply. There are, however, a couple of references to the pity and fear felt by bystanders at a horrendous spectacle, but these feelings are aroused directly by the spectacle itself, not by the hero's feelings (1,13; 3,15). More interesting is the hero's description of how his story affects his listener (one person, this time): 3,14 "...he listened sympathetically. Compassion is a natural human response to a recital of wretched reversals, and pity is prompt to promote rapport. Feelings of sorrow soften the soul while troubles are being told, and by gradual degrees the auditor's pity mellows to amity, his grief to compassion. He was so moved by my story that he wept..."[80] Here, the author, through the mouth of his hero, nicely analyses how the mentioning of the weeping bystanders, which became a cliché after Chariton, works.

Achilles Tatius has his trial scene, too, with some natural references to the reactions of the different parties concerned.[81] When the court is adjourned and the hero temporarily released from torture, he describes - with quite plausible realism - how "a crowd gathered around me, a confused mixture of sympathizers, miracle mongers, and the merely curious" (7,14). This crowd later intervene and defend the hero against the guards (7,16).[82] This is an example of how a stereotype is integrated into the action of the story. The stereotype of a crowd reacting to a procession or other spectacle is used by Achilles Tatius to heighten the effect of the virginity test of Leucippe (8,13-14). Achilles Tatius thus shows his awareness of such traditional features of narrative, but considering the bulk of his novel, they play a very minor part in it.

The same can be said of Heliodorus. Both these authors have other

---

80 Translation by J.J. Winkler in Reardon (ed.) 1989.

81 Ach.Tat.7,8; 7,9; 7,10.

82 Similarly a crowd gather and later act in 8,3.

and more subtle ways of activating the audience.[83] However, when Heliodorus does use such stereotypes, he often enlarges and enlivens them magnificently. An example is the opening of the novel, the disturbing scene seen through the eyes of the bandits. There are the traditional elements of a crowd amazed at the beauty of the heroine and supposing her to be a god, but these are nearly submerged by the description of the appearance and behaviour of the hero and heroine and of the strangeness of the whole situation. The goddess-cliché is developed ingeniously when the bandits begin to wonder: "`How could a god behave like that?' they said.`How could a divine being kiss a corpse with such passion?'"[84] Again, the stereotype that a character bursts into tears after telling his or her sad story and the listeners start weeping out of sympathy is used almost in its bare traditional form in 5,33, but Heliodorus adds a touch suggesting the detachment of the audience - both inside and outside the story: "His story concluded, he began to weep, and the entire company wept with him. The festivities had turned to sadness, not unmixed with a kind of pleasure; for wine disposes men to tears." Another variation upon the same stereotype is found in 1,18, when Cnemon, after finishing his long story, wept, and "the strangers wept too, ostensibly at his story but in fact in remembrance of their own. They would not have ceased from sorrowing, had not sleep, drawn by the pleasure they took in weeping, come fluttering down to staunch their tears." Here, the reacting audience consists not of a crowd, but of the hero and heroine themselves. Their reaction is described with a Homeric remembrance of the captive women weeping ostensibly for Patroclus, but in truth for their own fate (Il. 19,301f.). Heliodorus also uses lavishly the stereotype of the crowd following in admiration or excitement a spectacle, especially when Calasiris describes the procession at Delphi, where the hero and heroine meet each other for the first time

---

[83] On this topic, see J.J. Winkler, "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the Narrative Strategy of Heliodorus' Aithiopika", YClS 27 (1982) 93-158, S. Bartsch, Decoding the Ancient Novel: The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, Princeton 1989, T. Paulsen, "Die 'Aithiopika' als Roman für alle. Zur Kommunikation Heliodors mit Lesern unterschiedlicher Bildungsniveaus", G. Binder & K. Ehlich (eds.), Kommunikation durch Zeichen und Wort, Trier 1995, 351-364.

[84] Translation by J.R. Morgan in Reardon (ed.) 1989.

(3,1ff.),[85] or when the people of Memphis follow the duel between the rivals for priesthood (7,5ff.),[86] or at the end of the novel, where Charicleia is to be sacrificed in the festival in honour of the Sun and the Moon (10,4ff.).[87] In the last instance, the reactions of the Ethiopian crowd prove to be decisive for the fate of the protagonists, because it is they who prevent the King from going on with the sacrifice of his daughter (10,17,1). The crowd's excited reactions accompany Theagenes' exploits[88] and reach a climax in the final scenes, where "a perfect harmony of diametric opposites" reigns (10,38).[89]

Thus, we have seen that in the sophistic novels, the stereotyped phrases describing the reactions of the surrounding crowd are but a minor part of the complex narrative, but even so, each of the novelists has his own way of using (or avoiding) these expressions. Of the earlier novelists, we have noted how Chariton uses such phrases as a continuous emotional reflection of the protagonists' feelings and thus gives guidance to his own audience as to the reception of his work. I conclude with a remark concerning the fragments of the novel called *Chione*[90] and those of an unknown novel sometimes connected with *Chione*.[91] *Chione* was written in the same codex as Chariton's *Callirhoe*, and it has been conjectured to have been written by Chariton, too, although "there is really nothing to sustain the conjecture".[92] The fragments of the unknown novel might be part of

---

85 Phrases describing the onlookers' reactions occur among the description of the pageant itself in 3,3,1; 3,3,4; 3,3,8; 3,4,1; 3,4,8. A nice touch is that the most important thing remains unnoticed by everyone save Calasiris: the moment of the couple's falling in love (3,5,7).

86 7,5,1; 7,6,4; 7,7,1; 7,7,4; 7,8,2; 7,8,3; 7,8,5; 7,9,1.

87 10,4,6; 10,7,1; 10,9,1; 10,9,4; 10,9,5.

88 10,30,5; 10,32,3.

89 10,38,3-4; 10,41,1; 10,41,3. The passage 10,38,4 is well characterized by Fusillo 1990b, 220f.

90 Codex Thebanus deperditus = Pack^2 244.

91 P.Berol. 10535 = Pack^2 2631 and P.Berol. 21234, labelled as *Chione?* in S.A. Stephens and J.J. Winkler, Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments, Princeton 1995.

92 Stephens and Winkler 1995, 289. Cf. Reardon 1989, 19, 824; N. Marini, "Osservazioni sul `Romanzo di Chione'", Athenaeum 80 (1993) 592 n. 25; Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1008; N. Holzberg, The Ancient Novel: An Introduction, London and New York 1995, 50.

Chione, too, as has been (very tentatively) suggested by Gronewald.[93] Gronewald in his commentary points out many similarities with Chariton, and among them are noted the references to the behaviour of a crowd.[94] Stephens and Winkler remark that "this may be insignificant, because the topic of crowd behavior may be quite standardized."[95] We have seen that it is, indeed, standardized, but certain differences can be seen in the use of such expressions even between Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus. The wording of the phrases in the fragments is very similar to Chariton, and the frequency of such expressions points equally to him - indeed, it is remarkable that in such short fragments there happen to be several expressions describing crowd behaviour. Naturally, this is not nearly enough to show that these fragments *are* by Chariton; however, it shows that the fragments belong to novels in which such references to crowd reactions were used quite frequently, and in the same way as in Chariton. Either the fragments are, then, by Chariton, or they show that these kinds of expressions were even more generally and uniformly used by the early novelists than we can conclude from the extant novels.

University of Helsinki

---

93 M. Gronewald, "Ein neues Fragment zu einem Roman", ZPE 35 (1979) 19-20. The identification is held possible by Stephens and Winkler 1995, 304; cf. Marini 1993, 596 n. 37; Holzberg 1995, 51 is more cautious. For the arrangement of the fragments, see C. Lucke, "Bemerkungen zu zwei Romanfragmenten", ZPE 54 (1984) 40-47.

94 *Chione* col. II l. 3ff. ταχέως δὲ διεφοίτησε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν [---]φας φήμ[η καὶ] οὐθε[ὶς] ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐλάλει [ἢ] περὶ τοῦ γάμου. πάντες δὲ ἤχθοντο λογιζόμενοι τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς αὐτῶν ἀπαίδευτον, P.Berol. 10535 col. II l. 7ff. προύπεμπον δὲ[αὐτ- . . . οἱ μ]ὲν ἄλλοι θαυμά[ζον]τε[ς κ]αὶ ἐκπεπληγμέν[οι. . .], l. 16 ἀνῆλθ[ον. . . .] σκεψόμενοι τὴν .υ[. . . . .] καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπελείφθη. κ̣α̣[ὶ ἦν] ὠθισμὸς περὶ τὸ δωμά̣[τι]ον πάντων εἰστρεχόντω[ν.] Text from Stephens and Winkler 1995.

95 Ibid. 303 n. 1.