LOLLIANOS AND THE DESPERADOES

'WITHOUT exaggeration and oversimplification little progress is made in most fields of humanistic investigation.' With this disarming quotation from A. D. Nock, Albert Henrichs begins his book-length interpretation of P. Colon. inv. 3328.[1] In the same spirit of humanistic progress, I would like to reconsider some aspects of the text and to offer a different assessment of its place in the history of religion and literature.

The fragments are from three pages of a hitherto unknown Greek novel, Lollianos' *Phoinikika*. Frags A and B luckily include book-ends, from whose subscriptions we know the author and title of the work. Frag. C is just scraps which yield no continuous sense. Frag. A brokenly and confusedly mentions youths, women dancing, (furniture?) being thrown off the roof, sobriety, kissing, and then, in a slightly more intelligible scene, the male narrator's loss of virginity with a woman named Persis, her gift to him of a gold necklace which he refuses, the assistance of one Glauketes[2] in taking the necklace elsewhere, and finally what seems to be a confrontation between Persis' mother and the two lovers. This last is similar to Achilles Tatius ii 23–5. Achilles Tatius also offers the closest parallel to frag. B, a ghastly description of human sacrifice and cannibalism. This scene is the focus of most of Henrichs' interpretation and I will limit myself to it in the present article.

The central question raised by this new novel fragment is how to assess the relative importance of religious and literary parallels. Is the *Phoinikika* to be regarded as a document in religious or in literary history, or perhaps somewhere on the borderland of both? There has been a lively discussion in the last half century of the thesis that the ancient novels were written and read as religious documents, deriving their basic structure and many details from the myths and cults of particular religions. Henrichs devotes most of his book to arguing that the sacrifice scene in Lollianos is inspired by an actual rite, probably of a Dionysian character, and that the *Phoinikika* serves to illuminate a little-known corner of religious history. His views[3] are based on an extensive collection of liturgical, mythical and ethnological parallels concerning oath rituals, the sacrifice of children, cannibalism, and face-painting. Of all the parallels cited, the two which are closest in every way to Lollianos are Achilles Tatius iii 15 and Cassius Dio lxxi 4. On the strength of these Henrichs asserts that Lollianos' description of a ritual murder represents, more or less directly, the cultic practice of the Egyptian Boukoloi. Without postulating a religious message for the *Phoinikika* as a whole, Henrichs does claim that this scene yields valuable information about the structure of ancient mystery rituals (78 n. 6) and that these new fragments support the methodological correctness of Kerenyi's and Merkelbach's approach to the ancient novels.[4]

A different approach to the interpretation of the ancient novels, which I will argue for, is that which traces the patterns of narrative, the basic plots and formulae of popular entertainment. In this view the motivation of narrative is fundamentally aesthetic rather than religious—a self-standing delight in stories themselves. Raconteurs will of course refer to gods and conventional

[1] A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos*, Pap. Texte u. Abh. xiv (Bonn 1972): hereafter 'Henrichs'. See also *ZPE* iv (1969) 205–15, v (1970) 22 [reporting A. Dihle], vi (1970) 42–3 [reporting M. D. Reeve]; 'Pagan ritual and the alleged crimes of the early Christians', in *Kyriakon*, Festchr. J. Quasten, edd. P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (Munster Westf. 1970) 18–35; G. M. Browne, *ZPE* x (1973) 77; I. Cazzaniga, *Vetera Christianorum* x (1973) 305–18; L. Koenen, *Bull. Amer. Soc. Papyrologists* xvi (1979) 109–14; G. Sandy, *AJP* c (1979) 367–76; C. P. Jones, *Phoenix* (forthcoming).

The quotation is from A. D. Nock 'Hellenistic Mysteries and Christian Sacraments', *Mnem.* v (1952) 213, repr. in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge Mass. 1972) 820. The sentiment is typical of Nock, especially when he wanted to express courteous disagreement with a work under review (see Stewart's introduction *ibid.* 3, and Nock *ibid.* 175). Prof. Henrichs reminds me that the context continues as follows: 'In reacting against them we must beware of exaggeration in the opposite direction and of any tendency to assume simple relations of cause and effect in an area in which they are very rare.'

[2] The name Glauketes and general considerations of style suggest that P. Oxy. 1368 be assigned to Lollianos (Henrichs 8–10). Prof. Henrichs is scheduled to edit further Oxyrhynchus fragments containing the name Glauketes.

[3] Summarized Henrichs 29 f.

[4] K. Kerenyi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in Religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Tübingen 1927; revised edn Darmstadt 1962). R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (Munich/Berlin 1962). 'Damit bestätigt der neue Romanpapyrus die methodische Richtigkeit dieser Interpretationsweise' (Henrichs 78).

rites and religious beliefs as they occur naturally in the texture of daily life—it would be impossible to avoid them—but without intending a religious message. The two scholars who have pioneered the study of the ancient novels as narrative structures formed from a long tradition of conventional motifs are Trenkner and Wehrli.[5] They view the novels as part of a much larger field of narrative art whose standard plots are found in many genres—in epic, tragedy, comedy, fable, mythography, mime, and in folk-narrative as recorded by historians and geographers.

Both approaches try to provide a sensible reconstruction of context for the surviving novels and both are conjecturing in the dark. The great silence of the ancient world which hampers research into mystery cults is also a barrier in the area of popular entertainment. For contrary reasons, both mysteries and popular literature are not well known to us in anything like the extent of their actual existence. The silence of serious reverence enshrined the one, the silence of critical disdain dismissed the other. It is important to emphasise at the outset that these two approaches are not entirely exclusive. There is an overlap between religious structures and narrative entertainment. On the one hand, myths are stories, and a narrator whose purpose is fundamentally religious may make use of story patterns from popular tales. On the other hand, every narrative from Homer to Nonnos refers at some point to the rites, language and beliefs of ancient religions. The point of our analysis is to assess the interaction of religious information and fictional imagination.[6] Since the new text contains an explicit religious ritual, it is an ideal meeting ground on which to test the respective merits of opposing methods of interpretation. I propose to read fragment B of the *Phoinikika* as closer to the little we know of ancient melodrama, mime and thrilling travel tales than to the little we know of mystery cults. In so doing I will argue that the value of its details for the history of mystery religion is about as great as that of the liturgical details in M. G. Lewis' *The Monk* for the history of Roman Catholic monasticism.

The comparison and analysis of narrative formulae rests on the following premises. Behind the surviving examples of narrative there lies an extensive field of oral narrative, most of which is lost to us. Just as colloquial speech provides us with a great store of verbal clichés, so popular narrative is the extensive substratum of plot clichés for literary fiction. All narrative depends on the use of formulae for contriving effective surprise, humour, pathos, character types and adventures. Even to be novel, a narrator must hit an unexpected variation of an already existing theme: originality is an inherently relational concept. From the known examples in many genres we can recover some recurrent structures of popular narrative, the tool-kit of standard plots which the ancients used, varied, and enjoyed for many centuries. The tales of Odysseus to the Phaiakians and the tales of the old shepherds in Longos ii 32 belong to the class of travellers' tales which could have been heard in many inns and harbours of the ancient world. With small variations the same subjects recur, the same types of narrator's exaggeration are found, and the most exciting and outlandish adventures turn out to be members of the same family.

To make the claim of interdependence clearer, let me distinguish three kinds of connection which may be posited among various instances of the same narrative pattern:

(1) First, there is sometimes a direct literary dependence, e.g. Euripides' *Kyklops* and *Odyssey* ix. Clearly the ancient novelists show some interdependence of this kind—they read their predecessors. But the fact that this dependence in particular cases eludes proof of priority is very suggestive. This should caution us not only to be careful of such hypotheses but to rethink our notion of such literary dependence. It seems sure that Heliodoros' brigands are as they are in some measure because Heliodoros read Achilles Tatius, yet he read him not as a unique model for direct one-to-one imitation, but rather as an instance or family-member of a wider pattern. To put it

[5] S. Trenker, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period* (Cambridge 1958). F. Wehrli, 'Einheit und Vorgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Romanliteratur', *MH* xxii (1965) 133–54. Wehrli traces the commonness (*Einheit*) of several narrative patterns, underlying and preceding (*Vorgeschichte*) the surviving Greek and Latin novels. Methodological remarks of the same tendency may be found in Karl Bürger, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Romans*: i *Der Lukiosroman* (Wissens. Beilage zum Prog. des Herzoglichen Gymnasiums in Blankenburg am Harz 1902) and B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley/L.A. 1967) 320 f.

[6] Henrichs does not deny that the *Phoinikika* is an engagingly vulgar and entertaining work (7) nor that the described ritual is made to serve the requirements of a literary fiction (28). But he maintains that the scene can in some sense be regarded as reporting an actual rite, whereas I propose that the requirements of Grand Guignol are so paramount that the informative value of the scene is seriously compromised.

crudely: knowing that heroines are regularly captured by brigands in popular fiction and that Leukippe had been captured by Egyptian Boukoloi who lived in a marsh-city, Heliodoros writes a version of that standard plot which uses some of Achilles Tatius' more effective elements (the marsh-city, the destruction of the Boukoloi by the forces of law and order) but does not repeat it as a carbon copy. Narrative formulae group themselves in families like a fairy-ring of mushrooms: Heliodoros, drawn to a particular circle, takes up a new position in the ring which is complementary to the existing members. Both *imitatio* and *variatio* are conscious phases of direct literary dependence.

(2) The second kind of connection between literary versions is that both may come from oral folk-narrative, or one may come from the other only via such narrative. Stories travel—in particular, travellers' stories travel. Sindbad and Odysseus both drive hot stakes into a giant's eye(s): the specificity of detail seems to demand a connection, but it need not be that Shahrazad read Homer. So too the Charition mime (P. Oxy. 413) reproduces the structure of Euripides *I.T.*, but that does not entail a direct literary dependence. A remarkable example recently discovered is the Greek version of the wise judgement on two mothers claiming the same child.[7] Philiskos (the author in question) probably did not read the first book of Kings, much less the Indian text which contains the same story. In fact this Greek text quotes the tale explicitly to make the point that stories travel, and that in making the rounds they are attached first to one name, then another. From Solomon to Solon, from Odysseus to Sindbad, persons anonymous carry the tale. The art of narrative is not a privileged art—either as technique or possession—but a freely circulating system of uncopyrighted themes and combinations. Narrators make free use of what they find effective in capturing an audience.

(3) The third explanatory connector of similar literary tales is that, at some level of fundamental experience, it makes sense to say that two stories are alike because the basic elements of the situation described from real life are alike. For instance, the motif of a shore-landing where the heroes are captured by natives and brought somewhere to be disposed of as slaves or victims, which occurs in Eur. *I.T.* and Xenophon's *Ephesiaka* (iii 12.2) and often elsewhere, is so obvious a turn of events that we need not insist that Xenophon knew Euripides' text. The connection between these two literary texts is that they are rooted in the same circumstances of human society—national isolation and xenophobia—and in the same selective powers of human imagination. I mention this form of narrative interdependence through common social experience because it is a tentative approach to a problem that will be dealt with later, namely, discriminating what is true, false, and plausible in a supposedly historical anecdote of Cassius Dio about the Alexandrian Boukoloi (section III). The similarity of that episode with the text of Lollianos' *Phoinikika* frag. B is remarkable, and demands an explanation. As it happens, this novelistic scene is a perfect representative of a narrative formula which runs through ancient fiction from beginning to end, so powerful a pattern that it conditioned the perceptions of historians in serious reports of actual life.

My point of departure is the masquerade adopted by the band of desperadoes (or whatever they are) after they have sacrificed the *pais* (I). I will then analyse the narrative formula of Desperadoes *vs* Victim in a rite of human sacrifice, as it occurs in this scene and in the other Greek and Latin novels (II). Finally I will trace the interaction of fictional patterns and historical reporting in some accounts of the Egyptian Boukoloi (III). This is a lengthy treatment to accord to so small a text, but only an extensive comparative method can begin to flesh out the richness of narrative culture that was once the common knowledge of so many ancient readers or listeners.

I. The Masquerade

To illustrate the comparative method for interpreting popular narrative let us take a single

[7] P. Oxy. 2944. E. G. Turner, *The Papyrologist at Work*, *GRBS Monographs* vi (Durham N.C. 1973) 8–14. This story, so far from being unknown to any classical author, is alluded to in a parodic way by Petronius *Sat.* 79–80. Its connection with Roman art has been extensively studied. See H. Lucas, 'Ein Märchen bei Petron' in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und griechisch-römischen Alterthumskunde: Festschr. . . . Otto Hirschfeld* (Berlin 1903) 257–69. For collections of wise judgements among various peoples, see *ibid.* 262 n. 4.

striking detail from the *Phoinikika*. The villains of this piece, after disposing of some corpses, put on robes—some white, some black—swathe their heads, and paint their faces. Those wearing black robes smear ashy soot on their faces, those wearing white robes smear ceruse (cosmetic white lead) on their faces.

> *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χιτῶνας ἐνδύονται, οἱ μὲν λευκούς, οἱ δὲ μέλα[νας]λ̣μ̣ωσιν ὁμοίως τὰς κεφαλὰς περιειλήσαντες καὶ τὰ πρό̣σ̣ωπα[· οἱ μὲν τὰ ἱμάτια] μέλανα ἔχοντες ἀσβόλῃι, οἱ δὲ τὰ λε]υκὰ ψιμυθίωι ἐχρίοντο. καὶ ο̣ὔ̣[.... αὐτοὺ]ς̣ κ̣ο̣σ̣μ̣ή̣σ̣αντες ἐξ̣ή̣εσαν ἔξω. ‹οἱ› μὲν τὰ λευκὰ ἔχοντες διὰ το̣[ῦ]..[οἱ δὲ τὰ μ]έλανα διὰ τῆς σελήνης ἐπορεύοντο.*

The collection of parallels assembled by Henrichs (63–6) is meant to suggest that the practice here could well be an item of Dionysiac cult. The collection comprises highly disparate facts and texts: an anti-religious satire in an orator of the fourth century B.C., a hunting superstition of modern primitives, an early Christian tract, and a late pagan epic.[8] This is a method of free association, which is very good for generating possible interpretations, but which can never be more than highly suggestive. We must have a rule of relevance,[9] and for a narrative out of context the first rule is that we must rely not on individual items in isolation but on coherent sequences which can be paralleled in other types of literature. Thus, if we were to find a text which, like the *Phoinikika* frag B. , presented us with a group of men, perhaps desperate and villainous as these seem to be, who are marked as resisting authority (whether by oath, as in the *Phoinikika*, or otherwise), who act orgiastically in some fashion and then after an interval of rest dress up and make their way after midnight somewhere else in disguise—*then* we would have a parallel sequence, a narrative pattern of several events in succession, which would duplicate the masquerade-scene in Lollianos. The individual details may be different: we would expect that an author using a narrative formula would try to vary the details.

There is such a scene. The sequence of events leading to this masquerade is nearly identical with the scene at Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* iv 22. In both cases we find a band of desperate men, sworn to resistance against civil authority, hard-drinking and lusty fellows. After a heavy meal many fall asleep or are ready to do so, but some (in Apuleius, all except the old woman) dress up to go out on their nightly business as brigands. Apuleius does not describe their precise appearance as Lollianos does, but he does tell us what their masquerade meant: they dress up as ghosts—*et ecce nocte promota latrones expergiti castra commovent instructique varie, partim gladiis armati, partim in lemures reformati concito se gradu proripiunt.*

The situations in Lollianos and Apuleius are virtually identical: the time (dead of night), the characters (desperate men), their action (slipping away from their hideout), even the sequence of carousing[10] followed by a time for sleep followed by dressing up to prowl. What is going on here? The brigands intend to frighten travellers at night by appearing to be dangerous spectres. Night is the time of terror, especially for wayfarers, and the dangers are both realistic (brigands are afoot) and superstitious.[11] Ghosts and robbers are equivalent dangers to travellers at night:

[8] Other parallels adduced are despised superstitious rituals (Plut. *de superstit.* 166a), mourning rituals (Hdt. ii 85), festival joking (Lucian *Sat. 2*, *cf.* Plaut. *Poen.* 1195, Petr. *Sat.* 22), festival disguise (*FGrH* 396 F 24 = Ath. xiv 622d), and a disguise which is not religious, festive or ritualistic (Heliodoros vi 11.2). Henrichs (64) is close to the truth when he perceives that the villains' disguise is frightening: 'Ein viel praktischerer Zweck dieses Mummenschanzes war sicher, die Initianden gründlich zu erschrecken'. The experience of terror may indeed play a part in an initiation (Plut. *fr.* 178 Sandbach). The emotional pattern of a secular melodrama may in abstraction be identical with that of a religious rite: 'Demeter and Kore and he who is called Iacchos signify . . . to the uninitiated some fear or danger first, but afterward they bring about some good'; 'Sarapis and Isis and Anoubis and Harpokrates—the gods themselves and their statues and their mysteries and every account (*logos*) of these gods and also the gods who share the same temples and altars—signify disturbances and dangers and threats and crises, from which they save (the dreamer) contrary to expectation and hope' (Artemidoros *Oneir.* ii 39, 174 f. Pack). But this ambiguous and very general narrative structure of crisis followed by rescue need not be seriously religious, for though most religion is based on fear, it is wrong to infer that all fear is religious.

[9] 'Ein sachliches Ordnungsprinzip', Henrichs 28.

[10] Apuleius' brigands when they first begin to carouse (before the three robber tales are inserted) are compared to Lapiths and Centaurs (iv 8); Lollianos' brigands are either compared to Lapiths and Centaurs or use an enormous cup on which is engraved such a scene (B 1 verso 13–15).

[11] Night is the time of terrors in Apuleius—highwaymen and thieves (i 15, iv 18, viii 17), witches (ii 22), wild young aristocrats (ii 18)—and throughout ancient belief. Good examples are Ar. *Av.* 1482–93, Eur. *Hel.* 569 f., Xen. *Eph.* v. 7.7., Harmodios *ap.* Ath. iv 149c, Plut. *Kim.* 6, Babr. lxiii, scenes of necromancy such as Hld. vi 14 f., *tabellae defixionis* (ὁρκίζω σε, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτὲ

thus amulets described by Pliny and Kyranides are valid against both—*pedem* (*sc. hyaenae*) *e prioribus dextrum pelle hyaenae adalligatum sinistro bracchio contra latrocinia terroresque nocturnos pollere*, *N.H.* xxviii 115, *cf.* xxviii 98; *φεύξεται πᾶς δαίμων τὸν φοροῦντα καὶ λῃσταὶ καὶ θηρία*, Kyranides iii 3.5 (=de Mély 87.1); *ἀποστρέφει γὰρ κεραυνούς, κινδύνους, βασκανίαν, δαίμονας, λῃστὰς καὶ νυκτερινὰ συναντήματα*, iv 21.3 (=de Mély 121.3).[12] The dangerous phantoms whom one might meet at night are of many kinds: spectral armies, Hekate leading her troop of dogs and spirits, single demons or dead men returned to haunt the living.[13]

Since the association of black night with ill omen and hellish phantoms is so obvious (as Strabo remarks, iii 2.12), Apuleius' bandits can rely on the power of popular superstition to protect themselves. Hence it is a rule (*ex disciplina sectae*, iv 18) for them to travel by night, and a calculated part of their protective discipline is that some[14] are costumed as *lemures*.[15] They are also playing on popular superstitions when they store their booty in a tomb (iv 18, 21). A typical scene of terror is the capture of Charite at the crossroads when the bandits, still disguised as ghosts, surround her and speak thus of the terrors of the night: *quorsum istam festinanti vestigio lucubratis viam nec noctis intempestae manes larvasque formidatis?* (vi 30=*Onos* 24.2). Night is the time, they remind her, when evil ghosts stalk the world—and so do robbers safely disguised as ghosts. But what exactly do Apuleius' desperadoes look like in their ghostly disguise as *lemures* (iv 22), as *manes larvasque* (vi 30)? Could the disguise of the desperadoes in Lollianos be taken as motivated

εἶ, κατὰ τῆς κυρίας Βριμώ, προκύνητε νυκτοδρόμα βιασάνδρα, κτλ., P. Collart, 'Une nouvelle *Tabella Defixionis* d'Égypte', *RPh* iv [1930] 248–56), and magical hymns (to Helios: *πέμψον δαίμονα τοῦτον ἀεὶ μεσάταισιν ἐν ὥραις / οὗπερ ἀπὸ σκήνους κατέχω τάδε λείψανα χερσίν / νυκτὸς ἐλευσόμενον* . . .; to Selene: *κυανέη, ὀφεοπλόκαμε, καὶ ζωνοδρακόντι / αἱμοπότι, θανατηγέ, φθορηγόνε, καρδιόδαιτε / σαρκοφάγε, κοπετόκτυπ', ἀωροβόρ', οἰστροπλάνεια*. . . . Dilthey, *RhM* xxvii [1872] 375–419). 'And one of the old Greek doctors in fact describes a pathological state into which a man may fall "if he is travelling on a lonely route and terror seizes him as a result of an apparition" (Hippok *Int.* 48=vii 286 Littré)': E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley/LA 1951) 117. The ghost stories told to frighten children, which Plato mentions in disapproval, are set at night (*Rep.* ii 381e).

It is commonly said that noon too is a time of terror, but some of the texts cited in support have been carelessly read. Some mention ghosts that appear at midday, to be sure, but in a sacred grove so thick and shady that no daylight enters; the point is not that noon is dangerous but that in such places it is always virtually night (Lucan iii 423–5, *cf.* 401; Stat. *Theb.* iv 438–41, *cf.* 420–3; Lucian *Philops.* 22–4). Most of the other references to such a belief are based on the principle that rural deities rest and take their swimming-break or siesta at midday, just as the shepherds do, and that they do not like to be disturbed (Theok. i 15–18, Philostr. *Her.* p. 143 Kayser, Auson. *Mosel.* 178–88). Several of these also refer to sacred, and presumably shady, groves (Kallim. *H.* vi 38, Ov. *Fasti* iv 762, *cf.* 751 ff.). The deities that deliberately appear at that time to mortals are as likely to be helpful as harmful (Herakl. Pont. *fr.* 95 Wehrli; A.R. iv 1312 f.; Kaibel *Epig. Gr.* 802). But for a ghostly and dangerous army at noon, see n. 43. For an ambiguous attack by either guerrillas or demons, in modern Greek folklore, see R. & E. Blum (n. 25) 107 f.

[12] An interesting explanation of how such amulets are effective against brigands: '*si quis in via tutus ambulare voluerit, latrones timere non curet, quia fugat eos et pro unius viatoris persona multae personae videntur insidiantibus . . . si quis item facit in ambulando et in manu portaverit, non sentit laborem itineris, fugat daemonia, prohibet maleficia, venena discutit, avertit oculum malum*' (Cod. Bonn. 218, p. 85[r] in R. Heim 'Incantamenta Magica Graeca Latina', *Neue Jhb. f. Kl. Phil.* Suppl. xix 1 (1892) 463–576.

[13] Spectral armies: Lucan i 521, 569–83; Paus. i 32.4; Pliny *N.H.* ii 148; specifically black—Stat. *Theb.* iv 438–42; and see the stories of military panic below, p. 164. Hekate's komos: Trag. incert. frag. 375N[2]; Apuleius *Apol.* 64; magical hymn to Hekate, *RhM* xxvii (1872) 375–419; A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei*, RGVV iv 2 (Giessen 1908) 123–30, 229–32; H. Bolkestein, *Theophrastos' Character der Deisidaimonia als religionsgeschichtliche Urkunde*, RGVV xxi 2 (Giessen 1929) 41; black robed at night, A.R. iii 861 f. Demons and revenants: *δαίμονάς τινας εἶναι καὶ φαντάσματα καὶ νεκρῶν ψυχὰς περιπολεῖν ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ φαίνεσθαι οἷς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν*, Lucian *Philops.* 29; *cf.* Johanna ten Vrugt-Lentz, *Mors Immatura* (Diss. Rijks-Univ. Leiden 1960, publ. at Groningen).

[14] All modern editors have accepted the conjecture *armati*, *partim* for the MS *armati*, but the Groningen group in their commentary on Bk iv 1–27 (Groningen 1977) reject this. They find it more reasonable that all of the band look like ghosts as they go off into the night (not wearing any special outfit) but not all are carrying swords. It is quite true that a division into two work-parties with two separate appearances is not functional here; even the earlier separation into two groups who went separate ways (*Met.* iv 8) was really a narrative convenience, so that one group could tell the other their stories. Lollianos' group, who I imagine do go separate ways, may still have a single goal and are following different routes to it.

[15] *Lemures* are ordinarily frightening and dangerous ghosts (Hor. *Epist.* ii 2.209; Pers. 5.185; Schol. Pers. 5.185: *lemures dicuntur dii manes, quos Graeci δαίμονας vocant, velut umbras quasdam divinitatem habentes*). Apuleius in a different mood distinguishes ghosts as good (*lares*), bad (*laruae*), or unspecified (*lemures* and *manes*) (*de deo Soc.* 15); but Augustine, commenting on this very passage of Apuleius, gives the more common usage—*lemures* and *laruae* are both the souls of evil persons (*C.D.* ix 11).

precisely in order to let them pass as ghosts? I shall show that in ancient ghost lore frightening spooks were often described in ways which correspond to the masquerade in Lollianos—as all-black and as all-white.

But first we must examine a supplement to the text at line 30: *διὰ τọ[ῦ] ἡ̣λ[ίου*. This was proposed by Burkert, accepted by Henrichs, and has been defended by Koenen.[16] The time of the scene is midnight: *ἐπ]εὶ δὲ νύκτες μέσαι ἦσαν*, 23. (The corresponding scene in Apuleius begins: *et ecce nocte promota*, iv 22). The masqueraders first disrobe the corpses, then dress up themselves and go out. The text in line 29 seems clearly to indicate that the entire group left together (*ἐξήεσαν ἔξω*) but followed different paths: the ones in white through the (?), the ones in black through the moonlight. The suggestion that the first group walked in sunlight—*διὰ το[ῦ] ἡ̣λ[ίου*—preserves the contrasts (white/black: :sunlight/moonlight), but at the expense of importing other difficulties. To answer the obvious objection that sunlight and moonlight are not visible at the same time, Henrichs compares the mystical experience of Lucius during initiation: *nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine* (*Met.* xi 23). But that is a cosmic journey through the lower and upper reaches of the universe (*per omnia vectus elementa remeavi . . ., deos inferos et deos superos accessi coram et adoravi de proxumo*, xi 23), whereas the goal of this group journey is merely a goldsmith's workshop (*χρυσοχόου ἐργαστήριον*, 34). Koenen more realistically suggests that the group in white waited some hours till sunrise, but this requires a very awkward inversion ('. . . having dressed themselves thus they went out. The ones in white [waited for dawn and went out] through the sunlight, the ones in black proceeded [at once] through the moonlight'). It is possible to preserve the obvious sense of line 29, that the entire group departed at once, by imagining the scene as identical to that in Apuleius iv 22—a night-time sortie in bright moonlight. When the full moon is shining, open areas, fields and country roads may be brightly lit while alleyways, woods and ravines are still quite dark. I visualise the black-faced, black-robed robbers stalking through the moonlight trying to look like scary phantoms, and the white-faced, white-robed robbers slithering through the darkness, also ghostlike. If the house is located in a town, the whitened villains make their way along back alleys; if the house is located in the wilder countryside, as Apuleius' cave is (iv 6), they move through the woods or on the dark side of the mountains. A supplement, *exempli gratia*, which gives this sense easily is *διὰ το[ῦ] σ̣κ̣ό̣[τους*.[17] But whatever non-moonlight shone on the whitened desperadoes, the important point is that their purpose is not religious but criminal and that they rely on popular superstition to terrify. This is achieved in two ways: by their colouring and by the vagueness of their outline, wearing loose robes in conditions of low visibility. To show that Lollianos' masqueraders would have seemed terrifying, we must ask what ancient ghosts looked like.[18]

The colour of ghosts

Pictures and descriptions of ghosts are not easy to come by. Each of the following examples which contains an actual ghostly description is a precious fragment and should be taken as a token of the vast substratum of lost literature—tales told by nurses to children, by travellers on a journey, by dinner companions, by professional entertainers. Of course, the evidence submits to

[16] Cited in n. 1.

[17] Prof. Hagedorn of the Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln has kindly examined the papyrus under a microscope and reports that the traces, which are in very poor condition, are somewhat closer to *ηλι* than to *σκοτ*. The latter is possible but seems to demand a close spacing of letters and perhaps a running together of *οτ*. For parallels to the expression, *cf.* Xen. *Anab.* ii 5.9, *διὰ σκότους ἡ ὁδός* (metaphorical); Plut. *Q.Rom.* 279 f, *μετὰ φωτός . . . διὰ σκότους*. Thucydides describes the invisibility of soldiers in dark night with the phrase *ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινόν*. Plutarch uses the metaphor of a nerve-wracked traveller wandering through the darkness (*διὰ τοῦ σκότους*) to show the similarity of dying and being initiated (*fr.* 178 Sandbach). Prof. Henrichs informs me that *διὰ τοῦ σκότους* is written in the margin of a transcription in his files, and may perhaps have been a suggestion by one of his students.

[18] P. Wendland, 'Antike Geister- und Gespenstersgeschichten', T. Siebs (ed.), *Festschr. zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität zu Breslau, im namen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* (Breslau 1911) 35–55; L. Collison Morley, *Greek and Roman Ghost Stories* (London 1912); J. Tambornino, *De antiquorum daemonismo*, RGVV vii 3 (Giessen 1909); G. Ettig, 'Acheruntica, sive descensuum apud veteres enarratio', *Leipz. Stud.* xiii (1890/1) 249–410; Pfister, s.v. 'Epiphanie' § 19, Schreckende Gespenster, *RE* Suppl. iv (1924) 297. When this paper was finished, I finally obtained a copy of F. J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze*, Liturgiegesch. Forsch. xiv (Munster Westf. 1918), which amply documents one type (black) of demonic appearance.

no rigid system, in part because ghostly apparitions are amorphous,[19] and in part because the point of the tale is simply to excite pleasurable terror. Of all the appearances which were used to arouse fear in an audience, three are relevant here: pure black, pure white and smoke-like.

Pausanias (vi 6.7–11) reports a picture representing the story at Temesa of the ghost or hero who had been one of Odysseus' sailors, a wicked spirit whose haunting reflected his own wicked life and his violent, untimely death. When Odysseus landed at Temesa, this sailor had raped a maiden, and for that was stoned to death by the natives. In the picture the *daimon* was *δεινῶς μέλας*, scary black, and his entire look was frightening.[20] A *phasma/daimon* haunting a house in one of Lucian's tales is rough and long-haired and blacker than darkness (*αὐχμηρὸς καὶ κομήτης καὶ μελάντερος τοῦ ζόφου, Philops.* 31). In the *Acta Joannis*[21] a priest's son who is resurrected tells how an 'Ethiopian' rose up from the pool of a bath-house and strangled him. A female demon appears in the *Acts of Peter* 22: 'a woman exceeding foul, in sight like an Ethiopian, not an Egyptian, but altogether black and filthy, clothed in rags, and with an iron collar about her neck and chains upon her hands and feet, dancing.'[22] A demon in the *Passio Bartholomaei* is very hairy, dog-faced,[23] has eyes glowing like coals, and his colour is black: *ὡς Αἰθίοπα μαῦρον ὡς ἡ ἀσβόλη*.[24] Frightening apparitions on this low level of popular superstition in Europe continued to include black persons for a long time. Summarizing the demonology of saints' legends in the 9th to 11th centuries, Joannou remarks that after serpents and other beasts, 'la forme humaine la plus fréquente, c'est assurement celle d'un nègre . . .'.[25]

Not only are demonic beings black but so too are the unquiet dead. Shades in the underworld, itself a place of gloom and darkness where everything is black,[26] may roam the earth at night:

[19] 'Lemures and Manes . . . stand for the vague conceptions formed of the shades of the dead who dwelt beneath the ground. These were a nameless crowd, hardly individualized, not distinguishable from the fleeting phantoms who fluttered about the tomb.' F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven 1923) 72.

[20] J. C. Lawson, *Περὶ 'Αλιβάντων*, *CR* xl (1926) 52–8, 116–21. In another picture which showed Odysseus in the underworld there was depicted a *daimon* named Eurynomos eating the flesh of corpses and tossing aside the bones: *κυανοῦ τὴν χρόαν μεταξύ ἐστι καὶ μέλανος, ὁποῖαι καὶ τῶν μυιῶν αἱ πρὸς τὰ κρέα εἰσὶ προσιζάνουσαι* (Paus. x 28.7).

[21] Ed. Th. Zahn (Erlangen 1880) 122 ff. These are the acts by Prochoros (early fifth century), not those by Leukios (mid-second century).

[22] M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford 1924, repr. 1963) 323. The *Acts of Peter* are, like Lollianos, a second century work. See also *Acts of Andrew* 22 (James 345) and the *Apostolic Histories of Abdias* vi 22 (James 466). The woman at Philostr. *VA* iii 3 who frightens Apollonios' companions in India is black to her breasts and white below. They flee from her *ὡς δεῖμα*, but it seems to be the mixture of colours which alarms them, not her blackness or whiteness.

[23] *Daimones* often appear as vicious dogs (*Acts of Andrew* 6–7, James 339; *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* 35, James 82; Proklos *in remp.* ii p. 184.1 Kroll) or as dog-faced (A. Jacoby, 'Der hundsköpfige Dämon der Unterwelt', *Arch. für Religionswiss.* xxii (1922) 219–25). *Pace* LSJ, *προκύνητε* is probably correct in the curse tablet quoted above in n. 11: note that (i) the *daimon* is in the service of Hekate, who is sometimes dog-faced and usually accompanied by dogs, (ii) it runs by night, and (iii) is violent to men. All this makes *προσκύνητε* an inappropriate emendation. For the obvious fear of meeting unfriendly dogs at night; *cf.* Claudius meeting Cereberus: *illum vidit canem nigrum, villosum, sane non quem velis tibi in tenebris occurrere* (Sen. *Apocol.* 13). Medieval folklore pictured demonic skeletons with dog heads (L. Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen Südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung*, Beitr. zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients v [Munich 1968]).

[24] Lipsius-Bonnet ii 1.146 (*ingentem Aegyptium nigriorem fuligine*). *Cf.* also Lucian *Philops.* 16 (an exorcised *phasma/daimon μέλανα καὶ καπνώδη τὴν χρόαν*); *Pap. Gr. Mag.* VII 349–59, vol. ii p. 16 (*παιδίον μελάνχρουν*); Plutarch's description of the evil *daimon* who appeared to Brutus before Philippi is vague (*δεινὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ὄψιν ἐκφύλου σώματος καὶ φοβεροῦ, Brut.* 16), but Florus and Valerius Maximus in retelling the same story draw from the common repertoire of frightening descriptions to specify the *daimon*'s colour as black (*atra quaedam imago*, Flor. ii 17.8; *hominem ingentis magnitudinis, coloris nigri, squalidum barba et capillo inmisso*, Val. Max. i 7.7). Jesus' discourse in the *Pistis Sophia* (364–71) on the five major classes of sublunary demons includes the all-hairy Paraplex, three-faced Hekate, the succubus Typhon (pale-white?, *cf.* Plut. *de Iside* 33, *πάρωχρος*) and Ariouth *Aethiopica, quae est αρχων feminina, nigra penitus* (367, ed. Petermann, trans. Schwartze, Berlin 1851 = 140, ed. C. Schmidt, trans. V. Macdermot, *Nag Hammadi Studies* ix [Leiden 1978]).

[25] P.-P. Joannou *Démonologie populaire—démonologie critique au xie siècle*, Schr. zur Geistesgesch. des öst. Europa v (Wiesbaden 1971) 13. For traces of this belief in modern times, see R. and E. Blum, *The Dangerous Hour: The Lore of Crisis and Mystery in Rural Greece* (London 1970) 72 n. 1, 101, 110, 111, 332.

[26] Death (Stat. *Theb.* iv 528), Charon (Val. Flac. i 814 f.), Cerberus (Hor. *Od.* ii 13.34, Stat. *Theb.* ii 28), Pluto (*ibid.* ii 49), the escort of souls ('A man took me who was hateful to look upon, altogether black, and his raiment exceedingly foul', *Acts of Thomas* 55, James 390), the buildings (Ap. *Met.* vi 19), even the frogs (Juv. ii 150). *Cf.* G. Radke, *Die Bedeutung der weissen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen und Römer* (diss. Berlin, Jena 1936) 18–20, with further examples of black *eidola*. A physical explanation sometimes given for the blackness of underworld ghosts is that cremation fires have charred the body and bones (Sil. Ital. xiii 447, Stat. *Theb.* viii 5 f.).

nocte vagae ferimur, nox clausas liberat umbras,/errat et abiecta Cerberus ipse sera (Prop. iv 7.89 f.). A description of such revenants as black, appearing *en masse* like Apuleian desperadoes, is implied in the opening scene of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika.* Charikleia, sitting with her wounded lover Theagenes on the beach amidst a litter of dead bodies, is surprised by a group of men who sneak up behind her. When she looks up her first thought is that they are ghosts of the men slain around her (*εἴδωλα τῶν κειμένων*). She reaches this conclusion because of the men's black colour and squalid, unkempt look: *μέλανας ἰδοῦσα τὴν χροιὰν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐχμηρούς*. In fact they are Egyptian desperadoes.[27] This scene exemplifies all three of the important points that should be made about the Greco-Roman attitudes to actual black persons.[28] (i) In the stories where a black person is taken for a demon or ghost, it is not just the skin colour that is frightening but the ominous circumstances. Charikleia's encounter with the desperadoes is sudden, startling, and in the aftermath of widespread death.[29] (ii) It is not simply black skin colour which is frightening in ominous circumstances but other visible features—unkempt hair, squalor, a ferocious look. Heliodoros' brigands are *τὴν ὄψιν αὐχμηρούς*; see also the examples quoted earlier.[30] (iii) Sensible persons mark this fear as childish and superstitious.[31] After being caught off guard for an instant, Charikleia realizes that the black men are brigands, not ghosts, and adjusts her attitude to realistic resignation. She is, like Chariton's heroine, a very mature person, not a child or childish-minded adult who is frightened by ghosts or ghost stories.[32]

A second category of frightening appearance is pure white skin—not the olive to pink of Mediterranean men and women but pallid, chalky, bloodless, corpse-like white. The Greek examples of this, for some reason, are rather fewer than the Latin. In Aristophanes' *Ploutos* 422–5 Penia has the look of an Erinys from the tragic stage—pallid (*ὠχρά*) and with a manic look. *ὠχρός* is the bloodless skin colour of corpses (Philostr. *Imag.* ii 10.3), of sleepers (Plut. *fr.* 178 Sandbach, Loeb xv 320, in a comparison of sleep to death), and of underworld shades (Lucian *Menip.* 21). Apollonios' Argonauts in deep despair lose their colour and look like spectres: *χύτο δὲ χλόος ἀμφὶ παρειάς· / οἷον δ' ἀψύχοισιν ἐοικότες εἰδώλοισιν / ἀνέρες εἱλίσσονται ἀνὰ πτόλιν* (iv 1279 ff.). See also Hdt. viii 27 and Iamblichos *Babyloniaka*, cited below. On the Latin side, at Apul. *Met.* ix 29, a witch summons up a *larva*, the ghost of a woman who had been violently killed. She appears (ix 30) as ghastly pale (*lurore buxeo*) and painfully thin (*macie foedata*), virtually a walking corpse. This look of death is just as frightening as pure black skin, and either one can be used to excite superstitious fear. Horace describes the witches Canidia and Sagana: *pallor utrasque / fecerat horrendas aspectu* (*Sat.* i 8.25 f.).[33]

As with blackness, the fright of whiteness lies not simply in the colour but in a certain look, a set of appearances, principally dryness and emaciation, which together suggest the look of a skeleton or withered corpse. Though few firm distinctions can be made in this area, there is evidently in the Latin texts an association of *lemures* with black[34] and of *larvae* with white.

[27] The colour of the native Egyptian brigands is not surprising to readers of Achilles Tatius, whose *boukoloi* are black (iii 9.2). Evidently the dead pirates on the shore around Charikleia are not black—at least they are never so described (i 1–4, v 20–33). That an army of ghostly soldiers may be explicitly black is seen from Stat. *Theb.* iv 438–42.

[28] F. M. Snowden, Jr., *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge Mass./London 1970) 179 f.; D. S. Wiesen, 'Juvenal and the Blacks', *Class. et Med.* xxxi (1970) 132–50.

[29] So it is partly because Brutus' soldiers are facing a desperate battle that they are startled when they open the gates and meet a black man (Plut. *Brut.* 48, App. *B.C.* iv 17.134, Florus ii 17.7). Severus was on the lookout for an omen at the moment when an Ethiopian jester met him, carrying a garland of cypress (*HA Sept. Sev.* 22.4–5).

[30] P. 161 and n. 33. P. Oxy 416 (=B. Lavagnini, *Erot. Graec. Fr. Pap.* [Leipzig 1922] 35)—a 'god' with a mournful, frightening and squalid look, appearing in the darkness; Plato's torturing demons are *ἄγριοι ἄνδρες* (*Rep.* x 615e); Hekate's dogs are *μέλανες . . . καὶ λάσιοι πιναρᾷ καὶ αὐχμώσῃ τῇ λάχνῃ*, Luc. *Philops.* 24.

[31] An important testimony to the low level of this fear on a scale of civilized rationality is Agatharchides *de mari Erythraeo* 16 (Müller *GGM*): 'But Ethiopians will terrify Greeks. In what way? By their blackness and difference of form? Such a fear among us does not survive the age of childhood. In battles and the greater struggles, events are not decided by appearance of colour but by valour and leadership.'

[32] The irrational fears of children are a topos of ancient literature: Pl. *Rep.* i 330; [Pl.] *Axioch.* 367a; Lucr. iii 87 f.; Proklos *in remp.* ii 180. 18 f. Kroll.

[33] Ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 10 describes a typical malevolent ghost as pallid (v), funereal and squalid (xvi). Calcidius pictures the visible form of the lower, more material and passionate demons: *exsanguium quoque simulacrorum umbraticas formas induuntur, obesi corporis inluviem trahentes* (*Comm. in Platonis Timaeum* 135, ed. J. Wrobel, Leipzig 1876).

[34] *nigri lemures*, Pers. v 185; *nocturnos lemures*, Hor. *Epist.* ii 2.209 (*nocturnos* does not necessarily mean 'black').

Larva(lis) refers to white skeletons[35] and to bloodless, dried up corpses.[36] We also find the word *larva* without a description,[37] and the living-dead description without the word.[38] To be so frightened by seeing a ghost that one turns white and mindless—like a zombie—is also denoted by *larva*.[39] Just as everything in the underworld can be called black, so it can just as well be called pallid, bloodless, white.[40] Evidently the common denominator of pure black and pure white appearances is that both are unnatural, unhealthy, even death-like conditions for olive-skinned Mediterraneans.[41]

If these two categories go a long way to justifying the interpretation of Lollianos' masquerade as a ghostly disguise, they still fall short in certain ways. For while it is fairly common to find black robes mentioned as frightening, and to encounter a pallid spectre in a black robe, we have no examples of white-faced spectres in white robes.[42] To explain this as a terrifying appearance, we must turn to a third category: the dim outline of a shimmering spectre seen in conditions of low visibility, in mist, smoke or darkness. I take the point of Lollianos' desperadoes' masquerade to be the phantom look of a moving shape barely discerned—black figures in moonlight, white figures in darkness: *simulacra modis pallentia miris / visa sub obscurum noctis* (Verg. *G.* i 477 f.). The description of revenants, ghosts and demons as smoke, clouds, dream-shapes or shadows is familiar throughout Greek and Latin literature.[43] Scenes of terror are therefore often set in shifting light, like that of a candle flickering.[44] Perhaps the best approach to this phenomenon is by way of Aristotle's analysis of dream-phantoms (*de somniis* 2–3). Beginning with various types of misleading sense impression, Aristotle focuses eventually on depressed states of awareness due to darkness or drowsiness. Minute visual impressions seem in the darkness to be real shapes with life-like movement. In our sleep or half-sleep we over-interpret residual sense-impressions as one sees shapes in the clouds or in the random cracks in a wall. And, as usual, we find the fearful interpretation of these phantoms assigned to children rather than to adults: 'to some young people, even if their eyes are wide open and it is dark, many moving *εἴδωλα* appear, so that they

[35] *nemo tam puer est ut Cerberum timeat et tenebras et larvarum habitum nudis ossibus cohaerentium*, Sen. *Ep.* 24.8; *macilentam uel omnino evisceratam formam diri cadaveris fabricatam, prorsus horribilem et larvalem*, Apul. *Apol.* 63; Petron. *Sat.* 34.

[36] Hyperbole at *Priap.* 32: *aridior . . . pallidior . . . pro sanguine pulverem . . . ad me nocte solet venire et affert pallorem maciemque larvalem*; at Apul. *Met.* i 6, *lurore* + *maciem* = *larvale simulacrum*.

[37] *terrore larvarum interfectorumque catervae*, Amm. Marc. xiv 11.17; *larvale simulacrum . . . et miserabiles umbrae, id.* xxxi 1.3; *Manias autem, quas nutrices minitantur parvolis pueris, esse larvas, id est manes, quos deos deasque putabant, quosque ab inferis ad superos emanare credebant*, Festus s.v. 'Manias', p. 115 Lindsay.

[38] *tenet ora profanae / foeda situ macies, caeloque ignota sereno / terribilis Stygio facies pallore gravatur / inpexis onerata comis*, Lucan vi 515–18.

[39] Petron. *Sat.* 62; *Larvati—furiosi et mente moti, quasi larvis exterriti*, Festus, p. 106 Lindsay.

[40] I have come across no Greek texts which describe the underworld or its inhabitants as bloodlessly white or pallid. Latin references are numerous: Sen. *Oed.* 583–98 (*inter umbras, pallentes deos . . . exsangue vulgus*), Sil. Ital. xiii 408, and often in Stat. *Theb.* (shades—ii 48, 98; iv 519, 625; viii 1; corpses—iv 510 f.; Pluto—iv 525; Charon—viii 18).

[41] Not only are the living dead so described, but the nearly dead, persons emaciated or anaemically white, are said to look like ghosts. See Athenaios' collection of comic passages (xii 551c–552f). *iurisconsulti e tenebris procedebant, pallidi, graciles, vix animam habentes, tanquam qui tum maxime reviviscerent* (Sen. *Apocol.* 12). I take this to be the meaning of Soph. *Phil.* 946 f. (*νεκρόν, ἢ καπνοῦ σκιάν, / εἴδωλον ἄλλως*) and Soph. *O.C.* 109 f. (*τόδ' ἄθλιον / εἴδωλον*), since paleness and emaciation seem to be implied quite clearly in the former.

[42] Swathing oneself in a white sheet is the commonest impersonation of a ghost in American folklore. For an example from modern Greece of the same appearance, see R. & E. Blum (n. 25) 100: 'When one of my babies was just three days old I expected the Moirai to come to bless the child, for they usually do that on the third day. I decided to stay up and wait for them in order to see what they looked like. But curiosity is a bad thing and the Moirai decided to punish me for mine. At midnight they appeared in the form of three big white sheets and they danced around me. I was very, very frightened and felt ashamed of having been curious. I immediately ran off to bed and saw nothing of what the Moirai did to my child.'

[43] Smoke—*Il.* xxiii 100, Lucian *Philops.* 16; clouds—Sil. Ital. xii 652 f.; dreams—A. *Ag.* 1218, Proklos *in remp.* ii 130.13 Kroll; shadows—*σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα* seen flitting about graveyards and tombs, Pl. *Phaedo* 81d; the same phrase of a ghostly army glimmering in dawn light and also at noon, Damascius *Vita Isidori* (C. Zintzen [Hildesheim 1967] 92).

[44] Sen. *Thy.* 668–74; Lucan iii 420; a prayer for protection at night—*φόβους δ' ἀπόπεμπε νυχαυγεῖς*, Orphic hymn 2.14; demons are *ὕλης καὶ πονηρίας ἀπαυγάσματα*, Tatian *adv. Graec.* 15, and see E. R. Dodds (ed.) *Proclus, The Elements of Theology*[2] (Oxford 1963) 309, 318 f. Maximos of Tyre described the ghost-raising at Avernus: *εἴδωλον, ἀμυδρὸν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀμφισβητήσιμον* (viii 2b Hobein).

often cover their heads in fright' (462a12–15).[45]

Given this body of folk beliefs about what frightening appearances are associated with ghosts and demons, we may turn now to evidence about frightening masquerades. I include here both the little bit of relevant evidence about stage ghosts and the stories of impersonating a ghost to terrorize someone. For white-faced phantoms in Greek tragedy we have, besides the tragic Erinys at Ar. *Pl.* 422–4, Pollux' description of a pallid young man's mask: *ὁ δ' ὠχρὸς σφριγανός ἐστι ταῖς σαρξὶ καὶ περίκομος, ὑπόξανθος, νοσώδης τὴν χροιάν, οἷος εἰδώλῳ ἢ τραυματίᾳ πρέπειν* (iv 137). (The association of dry emaciation and pallid white in descriptions of wounded or sick persons and ghosts supports T. B. L. Webster's suggestion *φρυγανός*, 'withered', 'like dry firewood', in place of the unlikely *σφριγανός*, 'plump': *Festschr. A. Rumpf* (Krefeld 1952) 145 n. 29.) On the Roman stage, the whitened mask mentioned at Juv. iii 175 f. may represent a ghost: *cum personae pallentis hiatum / in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans*. At least it supports the connection between whitened faces and childish fear. For black faces and clothes on stage ghosts, we have the Bobbio scholiast's comment on *pro Sestio* 126 (ed. Hildebrant p. 102): the ghost of Polydorus appears creeping low along the stage, *sordidatus et lugubri habitu, ut solent qui pro mortuis inducuntur*. The mournful costume is probably black, as for a funeral; the face is at least partially blackened (*sordidatus*). That shades of the dead were acted in black is also indicated by the ominous rehearsal, just before Caligula's death, of a play set in the underworld, acted by Egyptians and Ethiopians (Suet. *Calig.* 57).

We are on much more solid ground in the area of stories about impersonating a phantom in order to frighten someone. Kallimachos *h. Art.* 69: Hermes impersonates a bogey, blackening his face to scare children, *σποδιῇ κεχριμένος αἰθῇ*. To frighten Demokritos, who was spending nights in a tomb, some young men dressed up as black-robed skeletons and performed a *Totentanz* around him: *νεκρικῶς ἐσθῆτι μελαίνῃ καὶ προσωπείοις εἰς τὰ κρανία μεμιμημένους*. (This seems to imply that skull masks were available for some theatrical performances, at least by the time of Lucian, who has the tale at *Philops.* 32). Another *Totentanz* is recorded by Cassius Dio lxvii 9: at Domitian's dinner party the serving boys, naked and painted black like ghosts, *ὥσπερ εἴδωλα*, entered the blackened room and danced to frighten the guests. Plutarch's account of Damon (*Kim.* 1) is complex, including at various stages a black disguise, brigandage and the frightening spectre of one untimely dead. The material is drawn from oral tradition at Chaironeia (*ὡς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν λέγουσι*). The descendants of Damon there are still known as Asbolomenoi, 'Sootfaces'. Though Damon's appearance as a brigand and as a ghost is not described, he is said to have blackened his face for an assassination. This act inaugurated his life of crime, and we seem to have here a latent image of a black brigand and a black ghost in Chaironeian folklore.[46]

We come still closer to the action of Apuleius' brigands in four stories of *strategemata*, ruses in war, which involve frightening disguises in black or white by large groups of people: Hdt. viii 27 (*γυψώσας ἄνδρας ἑξακοσίους . . . καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν*: the attack takes place at night, the Thessalian watchmen take fright, thinking it a supernatural visitation),[47] Tac. *Germ.* 43.5 (black shields and bodies, *atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum*), Tac. *Ann.* xiv 30 (women in black robes like Furies, Roman troops paralysed with fear), Dio xlii 11.2 (women in black robes and carrying torches, attack by night, thought to be some kind of demons). Three of these scenes, like the masquerades in Apuleius and Lollianos, are set in the night and the major cause of fear is the preternaturally white or black colour of faces and clothes in low visibility.

An excellent, but unplanned, ruse occurs in another Greek novel of the second century A.D. The hero and heroine of Iamblichos' *Babyloniaka* (Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 94 p. 74b 31–41), being chased by the king's soldiers, take refuge in the house of a brigand whose custom it is to slaughter and eat his guests. Though the details are not perfectly clear from Photios' summary, the scene which

[45] If Damaskios' collection of tales of haunting and supernatural visitation had survived (Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 130), our examples of white, black and tenuous ghosts could no doubt be extended. Since the issue is fright, I have not included examples of ghosts who appear as they looked in life, since these are regularly benign, nor of those with radiant faces, who are divine or angelic.

[46] C. Bonner, 'Demons of the Bath', *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London 1932) 203–8.

[47] The same incident is described by Pausanias (x 1.11) and Polyainos (vi 18). Both add a visual detail: the moon was shining.

ensues is one of the best cliff-hangers in all ancient melodrama. While they are being threatened with death and cannibalism inside the house, the king's soldiers arrive and set fire to it to smoke out the brigand. Rhodanes and Sinonis, trapped on every side, manage to escape destruction in the burning house by using the bodies of slaughtered asses to form a bridge (*cf.* Hdt. ii 107, Porph. *Vita Pythag.* 57). When the soldiers catch sight of them and shout 'Who goes there?', they moan in reply '*εἴδωλα τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ λῃστοῦ ἀναιρεθέντων*'—ghosts of those slain by the brigand. The soldiers are convinced of their supernatural reality and are terrified. Fortunately Photios has recorded what they looked like, and it is a fine variation on the principles already outlined. They are pallid (*ὠχρότητι*) and tenuous (*λεπτότητι*). Since Rhodanes and Sinonis are not in themselves pale or emaciated persons, what we are to visualize is a night scene, lit by the flickering fire of the burning house or its smouldering embers, which makes them seem to have a deathly pale colour and a shimmering outline.[48]

I have outlined a broad pattern of narrative expectations: night-time is ghost-time; frightening ghosts are regularly achromatic (black, white or smoke-like) and elusive to clear sight; disguise as a band of spectres is a familiar and effective *strategema*. This ruse is used by the desperadoes in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in a narrative sequence whose structure is parallel to that in Lollianos *fr.* B. I interpret the two texts as complementary: we know from Apuleius what Lollianos' desperadoes were doing in disguise, and from Lollianos what Apuleius' desperadoes may have looked like. The *Phoinikika*'s importance at this point is not as a document in *Religionsgeschichte* supplementing our knowledge of ceremonial dress,[49] but in *Erzählformgeschichte*, and more precisely in *Gespentergeschichte*.

Liturgical considerations

In addition to these positive parallels, there are negative considerations which tell against a religious–symbolic interpretation of the masquerade in Lollianos. We cannot, of course, successfully rule out a religious sense simply because the motif is widespread in non-religious narrative, for an author might make use of standard thrilling situations from popular narrative and also invest them with a religious meaning. But if the *Phoinikika* is a work of popular fiction, written for persons of no great sophistication,[50] then it is fair to ask what could be the meaning of this ceremonial attire in terms of conventional liturgy. It appears that against the background of ordinary religious practices and taboos the masquerade described in Lollianos is very odd.

First, there is no parallel for the initiation of robed persons *en masse* rather than individually.[51] Second, Lollianos' masquerade includes two elements—face-painting and costume. The only parallel offered which combines both of these is a scholion on Lykophron 1131, according to which maidens may escape their suitors by taking refuge in a sanctuary and anointing their faces with a *pharmakon* and donning black robes. Compared with the parallels from popular narrative, this is weak, obscure, and inappropriate. The most important religious difficulty, however, is the contrast of black and white robes in the same ceremonial context. Not only is there no parallel for this,[52] but it is quite anomalous. The ordinary prescriptions for ceremonial purity often include a requirement of white clothing, and this is not infrequently expanded by a specific ban on black or otherwise dyed clothing. Theodor Wächter[53] gives numerous examples of such ceremonial practice. Note especially Euripides *fr.* 472N² concerning Zagreus. The gods involved in Wächter's examples are both celestial (Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Asklepios, Isis, Herakles) and

[48] *Cf.* the ghosts in flickering light mentioned above, p. 163.

[49] Henrichs 124–9. There is some evidence which suggests that robbers actually did wear black clothing. Artemidoros ii 3 (103.6–8 Pack): 'Black clothing is in general a bad sign, except for those who work by stealth'; *id.* ii 20 (137.4 Pack): 'The crow is symbolic of an adulterer or a *thief*, both on account of its *colour* and because it often changes its voice'. The plausibility of this is confirmed by a folk-etymology: *furtum a furvo, id est nigro, dictum Labeo ait, quod clam et obscure fiat et plerumque nocte*' (*Digesta* xlvii 2.1). I am not sure of the meaning of Paulus *Sententiae* iii 4b (*de inst. her.*) 2: 'condiciones contra leges et decreta principum uel bonos mores adscriptae nullius sunt momenti: ueluti si *uxorem non duxeris, si filios non susceperis, si homicidium feceris, si larvali habitu processeris* et his similia'.

[50] Henrichs 7.

[51] 'Bisher war nur die Einkleidung von Einzelpersonen bekannt', *ibid.* 124.

[52] *Ibid.* 124.

[53] *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, RGVV ix 1 (Giessen 1910) 16–18.

chthonic (Demeter, Persephone, Trophonios). To his list one may add Pausanias ii 35.5 (Argive festival of Demeter Chthonia) and Plutarch *Q. Rom.* 26. Plutarch, commenting in the latter passage on a Roman custom, gives some valuable information about symbolic associations that any Hellene might feel: 'Do women in mourning wear white robes and white head-dresses perhaps as people say the *magoi* do, in opposition to Hades and the darkness, and likening themselves to what is light-filled and bright?' Evidently the feeling behind such ceremonial restrictions is a primitive one, and therefore likely to occur as a motif in popular narrative as well as in folk-religion.[54]

Finally we must remark that the whole discussion of a possible religious meaning for the black and white costumes arises because the motif occurs near a scene of sacrificial ceremony. But notice how far removed is the masquerade from the sacrifice. It takes place well *after* the murder, not before or during that ceremony; an orgy intervenes between the murder and the masquerade; and finally only some of those involved in the ritual murder stay awake for the masquerade. Also the murder and oath were the dramatic climax of a book, just as the narrator's first sexual experience was the climax of the first book, and what follows in the next book does not seem an integral part of the ceremony. If the masquerade took place before and during the 'infanticide', a reminiscence of the Titans' attack with whitened faces on the infant Zagreus would at least begin to be possible.[55] But its occurrence hours afterward as a preliminary to departure elsewhere rules out the Titans altogether. In looking for the intelligibility of ancient narratives and the context in which they may best be appreciated, we must pay attention in the first place to structural patterns and sequences of events, not isolated details. In this case at least we have a fully satisfying interpretation based on a parallel sequence from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

II. Desperadoes and their Victim

Though the masquerade here does not form part of a religious ritual, there is no doubt that the human sacrifice of a *pais*[56] is described with ceremonial exactitude. But in terms of normal religious practice it too is anomalous. I will comment on this scene, as I did the masquerade, both negatively, showing its disharmony with ancient religious practice, and positively, offering parallels from popular, non-religious narrative.

Bloody sacrifices are usually divided into two distinct classes: (1) those in which the flesh is eaten and (2) those in which the whole victim is destroyed and not eaten. Class (1) includes most daily sacrifices offered in thanks, celebration or for the usual requests which people make to divine powers. Class (2), usually called σφάγια,[57] includes offerings to the chthonic deities, heroes and other dead persons, sin-offerings, offerings to ratify or confirm an oath and appeasements of divine wrath. These two classes are exclusive. In the rare and highly shocking cases where a

[54] The author of *The Sacred Disease* (ch. 2, p. 589 Kühn) nicely marks it as superstitious when he gives it as one of the rules of witch-doctors, faith-healers, quacks and charlatans that their patients are not to wear black because it is a sign of death. See also *Reg.* iv 91 f. and the Pythagorean taboo (D. L. viii 19, 33 f.). In a liturgical context, the mixture of white and black is shocking: 'On the birthday of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, when all were clad in white, John alone put on black raiment and went up into the temple; and they took him and essayed to kill him'. *Acts of John* 38 (James 236). For other examples of the liturgical incompatibility of black and white, see A. C. Rush, 'The Colors of Red and Black in the Liturgy of the Dead', in *Kyriakon* (n. 1) 698–708. The gods' and *daimones*' sensitivity to colour-integrity is shown by Pliny's observation that the shades refuse to obey a necromancer who has freckles, *N.H.* xxx 1.16.

[55] Henrichs 56–73. The interesting fragment of Euphorion (88 Powell = 103 Scheidweiler), πάντα δέ οἱ νεκυηδὸν ἐλευκαίνοντο πρόσωπα, shows that the Titans' frightening approach to Zagreus fits into the larger pattern I have traced of ghostly disguises, and is perhaps most similar to Hermes' black-ghostly disguise to frighten the infant Artemis (Kallim. *H.* iii 69). It does not follow that any white-face disguise is automatically a reference to the Titans.

[56] The *pais* is certainly a male person, but whether a child or an adult servant is not determinable. Much of Henrichs' argument is based on taking the *pais* as a child, though the two contemporary narrative texts upon which he draws most heavily in other respects deal with the sacrifice of a centurion's 'companion', who is male and may be either young or old, slave or free (Dio lxxi 4) and the sacrifice of a free young woman (A.T. iii 15). Most of the narrative parallels from novels concern free young women. This may be Lollianos' deliberate inversion, comparable to the conclusion of Book i, where the hero loses his virginity but is offered a compensatory payment.

[57] Paul Stengel, '*ΣΦΑΓΙΑ*', *Hermes* xxi (1886) 307–12.

human victim is sacrificed, the ritual is not a meal but a *sphagion*.[58] A typical case is Arrian i 5.7: the enemy of Alexander sacrifice three boys, three girls and three black rams; when the Macedonians draw near, the enemy retreat, leaving the *sphagia* behind them. This is a desperate measure, a conscious violation of the normal taboo on human sacrifice. Its purpose is to pollute the Macedonians by forcing them to cross an unhallowed spot. Exactly the same motif is found in Achilles Tatius iii 19: Leukippe is to be sacrificed as a purification of the brigands themselves and her body is to be left in place ὡς ἂν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον ὑπερβάλοι τῆς θυσίας τὸν τόπον, 'so that the enemy army would pass over the place of the sacrifice'.[59] What is fictional about the liturgy in Achilles Tatius and Lollianos is the violation of two taboos—a human sacrifice (which sometimes occurred) and eating the victim of a *sphagion*-sacrifice. The offerings in Achilles Tatius and Lollianos both belong to the class of *sphagia* (καθάρσιον τοῦ στρατοῦ, A.T. iii 12; ratification of an oath[60] in Lollianos). That the victim of such a ceremonial offering should be human is extraordinary and shocking; that this or any *sphagion* should be eaten is a violation of the meaning of the ceremony; that both should occur together marks the description as fiction.

The ceremonial details of this scene (death, removal of the heart, cooking it, cutting it in half, wetting it with oil, dividing it into portions, drinking the blood) are carefully described, but that in itself is not enough to justify regarding it as a report of an *actual* ceremony, any more than its closest parallel, A.T. iii 15, which is also a careful description of most of the same elements. The slow accumulation of authentic-seeming details is also an effective method for creating an illusion of horror. Such details to be sure are not invented *ex nihilo*; their possible sources and meaning will be discussed below. But first I want to establish that the general structure of this narrative is a formula of popular fiction and is not in essence (though it may be *per accidens*) religious. The formula is that of a victim facing a horrible fate at the hands of villains. There are seven certain and two less certain instances of this formula in ancient novels. Some of these scenes have, like that in Lollianos, a ritual character, and in reviewing them I will particularly note how the role of 'religious' details in the ceremony is optional and variable and how the essential design of the scene is melodramatic.

(i) In A.T. iii 15, Leukippe is sacrificed. The ritual is over-determined: it is a sin-offering, it is a pollution on the enemy, and it is a fulfilment of an oracle which demanded the sacrifice of a virgin (that is, a novel-heroine). The hero Kleitophon and the reader must both observe the hideous ceremony helplessly. Later we learn that it was rigged, and that each of the requirements laid down for the rite happened to be such as to maximize suspense and horror and yet to make possible the heroine's survival.[61] The two bandits who did the actual slaughter turn out to be friends of the hero, who had equipped Leukippe with a false stomach pouch filled with blood and animal guts. By using a conveniently discovered trick sword whose blade collapses into the hilt, they had stage-managed the scene to fool the bandits. The purpose of the ritual description is to make the audience's blood run cold; the various violations of taboo have in common precisely their melodramatic purpose. The entire episode has been composed not to show us the actual religious life of some particular Egyptians but to shock and titillate the average Greek reader by an extravagant Grand Guignol.

(ii) Xenophon of Ephesus uses this narrative formula, as he uses many others, twice in the course of his work. Hippothoos' first gang (ii 13) discover Anthia after she has been shipwrecked and is wandering in a dense wood where they have their lair. She is to be offered as a sacrificial victim to

[58] F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern*, RGVV xv. 3 (Giessen 1915).

[59] J. G. Griffiths, 'Human Sacrifices in Egypt: the Classical Evidence', *Ann. du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* xlviii (1948) 409–22 incorrectly considers A.T. iii 15 as evidence for actual human sacrifice in Egypt. He points to aspects of the style which indicate that it is a *Bildbeschreibung* and assumes that an actual mural depicted such a scene. But Achilles Tatius often uses an ecphrastic style and seems to feel that it is sadistically appropriate to moments of physical horror: *cf.* iii 1–4, 7–8, v 3–5. Much less is Leukippe's gut-filled pseudo-stomach (A.T. iii 21) to be compared to one of the parts of the dismembered Osiris (Henrichs 70 n. 77).

[60] Making a solemn oath may include the drinking of human blood, but it is the oath-takers' *own* blood: Hdt. i 74, iv 70 (Lydians and Medes), Tac. *Ann.* xii 47 (Armenia). Herodotos specifies (i 74.6) that this custom goes beyond Greek practice. At Hdt. iii 11 Phanes' sons are killed and their blood drunk, but this is a sheer atrocity with no religious element, as is the Skythian revenge, Hdt. i 73.

[61] One character even draws attention to the extraordinary coincidence between the ritual's prescriptions and the theatrical illusion which they design: πάντως δὲ καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ λαθεῖν χρήσιμος (iii 21.3).

Ares according to a fixed rite of this group: namely, she is to be suspended from a tree and used as a target for their spears.[62] This makes sense as pure melodrama, but the effect is heightened by underlining the religious meaning of the excruciating and shocking rite: hitting the target is a sign of Ares' favourable response to the individual outlaw. The victims of this religious devotion are sometimes animal, sometimes human. Since in this case the victim is not only human but a novel-heroine, we are not surprised when a law enforcement group arrives in the nick of time to save Anthia. It would seem that here too the invocation of supposedly religious customs is strictly subordinated to the narrative effect (thrilling peril) rather than being used for its independent religious content.

(iii) Anthia is captured again by bandits (iv 5 f.), a different group (iii 3.6, iv 1.3) but also led by Hippothoos. This time their reason for consigning her to a cruel death is to punish her for defending herself against a rapist in the group. Nominally this band is different from the former one, but in terms of dramatic function they are identical. Under the leadership of the same captain, both bands live by ferocious brigandage and both are pursued to the death by the forces of law and order. Each time most are killed, a few taken alive, and Hippothoos alone escapes. There are many such narrative doublets in the *Ephesiaka*, and just as one would not hesitate to group other characters and situations by similar functions[63] or to identify even single episodes as well-known patterns from the field of ancient narrative art,[64] so one should not hesitate to consider Anthia's Death-at-the-Hands-of-Desperadoes as a single narrative ploy. The manner of impending death and the motive are different in the two versions; indeed, there must be some such variation in details or the pattern could not be effectively repeated.

This comparison of Xen. *Eph.* ii 13 and iv 5 f. shows conclusively, I believe, that the essential nexus designed by the author is that of Innocent Heroine *vs* Unscrupulous Outlaws, and the confrontation between them is a scene of portended, gruesome death. The religious ritual of the former scene has the *same function* as Anthia's act of self-defence in the later scene: they are two conventionally plausible reasons for tying Anthia to the railroad tracks.

(iv) The same motive—punishment of the heroine because she has resisted the robber band—is found in Apuleius and the *Onos*. The heroine is to be killed in a horrible fashion because she has tried to escape from them (*Met.* vi 31 f. = *Onos* 25 f.). Comparison of the punishments in Apuleius and Xenophon sheds light on another variable element in the formula. Charite is to be sewn up in the eviscerated carcass of Lucius the ass and exposed on a rock, there to suffer the torments of maggots, heat and wild animals devouring her alive. Anthia is to be locked up with two monstrous Egyptian dogs in a covered trench. Both, that is, are to be eaten alive—the one by ravenous dogs, the other by worms, dogs and vultures (*morsus ferarum, cum vermes membra laniabunt . . . cum canes et vultures intima protrahent viscera*, vi 32).[65] In the family of tales which place a victim in ultimate peril it is only a small variation to have the victim eaten by wild animals or by wild humans.[66] Both are inhuman enough to be agents of a 'fate worse than death', when the God of Melodrama so wills it. The story-pattern is the same, but in the case just cited there is no semblance of religion. This suggests that from the point of view of narrative formulae, the religious or ritual character of the Desperate Situation is an optional enhancement, not a fundamental requirement.

(v) At A. T. v 7, Leukippe is kidnapped on the island of Pharos by sailors in the pay of Chaireas,

[62] Fictional desperadoes are likely to worship Ares: Apul. *Met.* iv 21 (hymn to Mars); Lucian *Navig.* 36 (an imagined band of brigands whose watchword is Enyalios). But the fact that outlaws are regularly conceived in fiction as having a quasi-military organization (so too Lollianos' brigands, Henrichs 43), does not mean that we can derive any factual information about robbers as soldiers from such descriptions. The Groningen commentary on Apuleius *Met.* iv 1–27, App. I 'Military terms in the robber episode', seems to blur the line between historical report and fictional image.

[63] E.g., Sympathetic Executioner: ii 11.3–9, iv 6.4–7, v 5.4–6. Rapist Foiled by a Religious Scruple: iii 11.3–5, v 4.5–7.

[64] E.g. Potiphar's Wife: iii 12.3–6. Bride Buried Alive: iii 8, and Chariton i 8.

[65] Other heroines suffer this fate, or seem to: Sinonis (actually Trophima) eaten by a dog (Iambl. *Bab.* = Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 44 p. 77a 29 ff.); Thisbe apparently eaten by a lion (Ovid *Met.* iv 96–104). *Cf.* A.T. iii 5: Kleitophon and Leukippe worry about death by sharks, just before they land on the brigand-infested shores around Pelousion.

[66] Skylla, Kyklops, Laistrygonians in the *Odyssey*; Hdt. iv 106; Alexander's letter to Aristotle 5 (ippotami), 7 (bats with human teeth), 13 (cinocefali); Pliny *N.H.* vi 187–95; vii 2.24; Bousiris a cannibal (Schol. Lucian *Jup. Trag.* 21), Sphinx a cannibal (Ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 12); Lucian *V.H.* i 3, 35; ii 44, 46; *Martyrdom of Matthew* (James 460); in witchcraft, *PGM* iv 2594–2596, *cf.* 2656 f.

who has fallen in love with her. As they are sailing away, Kleitophon and the police pursuing them in a second boat see the desperadoes decapitate Leukippe and let her body fall into the sea. In the time it takes to recover her headless trunk, the villains have escaped. In terms of popular melodrama, such shocking scenes are evidently much sought after, but they do not occur entirely without plausibility or motivation internal to the requirements of the story. In this case the reason for the desperate men's action against the heroine is not religion, not punishment, but simply the need to get the authorities off their trail. Part of the motivation of the earlier 'death' of Leukippe, (i) above, was similarly to thwart the pursuing authorities, but that instance was conflated with a religious motive.

(vi) Heliodoros' versions of this situation show small but interesting variants. At the end of Book i, Charikleia is in the hands of Egyptian bandits. She has pretended to agree to marry Thyamis the bandit chief; she has not been threatened with a gruesome death-ritual. At the height of a battle with another group of brigands, it becomes clear to Thyamis that he is destined not to marry Charikleia but to kill her. The oracle in his dream had said 'You will have her but not have her, you will slay her but she will not be slain'. He had earlier decided to take this as a telling metaphor for marriage, now he understands it as an injunction to kill her. The motivation at this point is multiple, for the author comments that barbarians regularly do that sort of thing—kill their loved ones at the height of a battle—perhaps out of their mistaken belief that they will be reunited after death (*τὸ βάρβαρον ἦθος . . . προαναιρεῖν ἅπαν τὸ φίλον εἴωθεν, ἤτοι συνέσεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἀπατώμενον*, i 30.6). If we take only the first motive into account (Thyamis' conscious fulfilment of the oracle), this (apparent) murder is not a group act of many desperadoes against a heroine in the same way as the others. But the second motivation brings it completely into line with the formula: Charikleia has fallen into the hands of desperate men, *the sort who* kill innocent women according to a custom of their tribe, a custom which is connected with a religious belief in personal survival. Both motivations then are connected after a fashion with religion: the first is the enactment of a deceptive oracle, the second is obedience to a mistaken belief. Heliodoros has, like other romancers, invoked a subsidiary religious colouring to heighten the effect of his scene, but he has made it clear that such 'religion' as is involved is a sham.[67]

(vii) At the end of Book ix, Charikleia and Theagenes are captured by the Aithiopians and led off to be sacrificed as the first fruits of the victory. The Aithiopians paradoxically are the most just people on earth and yet they retain a custom of primitive savagery—the rite of human sacrifice—whose abolition is the climax of the novel. That is, they function as menacing strangers just like a bandit gang to the hero and heroine, but they realize that there is no good reason for that rite and decide to renounce it forever. This a lovely moment of mutual conversion: Charikleia becomes the Aithiopian princess she was born to be and the Aithiopians lay down the one trace of savagery which had cast them in the role of her enemy.

The religiosity which motivates the impending sacrifice is denounced as barbaric, and this denunciation implicitly underlies all the scenes of Desperado *vs* Victim which happen to contain a religious motif. Such an event is intrinsically shocking: *therefore* we find it rather often in the type of scene I have outlined. But though it marks a heightening of horror and melodramatic tension, a religious motif is not an essential component of the standard narrative pattern.

I put these seven (eight, including Lollianos) episodes side by side because they are generated by the same narrative formula: Innocent Victim *vs* Cut-throat Gang, culminating in a scene of gruesome execution. The definition could of course be drawn differently, since we can design a net to collect whatever we want. A looser formula which collected all wicked groups who capture a hero(ine) without threatening to kill him/her would not shed light on the variable role of religion in the act of destroying the victim.[68] We do not hear that any of these groups would have killed the hero(ine) but was prevented by a religious scruple. Religious motifs in these scenes are not intended to be informative or descriptive of actual beliefs, otherwise we would be told

[67] *Cf.* Xen. *Eph.* iii 11.4, *δεισιδαίμονες δὲ φύσει βάρβαροι.*

[68] Char. i 7–14, Long. i 28–30, ii 19–29, Xen. *Eph.* i 13–ii 12. These groups are hostile but not deadly, so their presence in the story does not lead to those thrilling scenes of ritual murder. One group of pirate-kidnappers is not ultimately even hostile: A.T. ii 13–18, viii 17. Kallisthenes gathers a group of idle fishermen to help him kidnap the heroine, but instead of Leukippe they snatch her cousin Kalligone. We learn six books later that she has fallen in love with her captor and he has mended his ways.

that desperadoes are sometimes induced by (good) religious beliefs to spare their victim and sometimes induced by (bad) religious beliefs to slay their victim. Rather it is the case that religion becomes significant only when it can be dragged in to reinforce a scene of special terror.

The formula I have outlined also excludes the many perils which come from within the structure and laws of the hero(ine)'s own society, since these do not produce situations of helpless victimization by anti-social forces to whom no appeal is possible.[69] It is essential that the gang in question be outlaws or a foreign tribe, for it is their anti-social existence (from the perspective of the author and his audience) which provides the inexorability of the heroine's fate.[70]

The two uncertain cases of this motif in the ancient novels, to which I referred above, occur in Antonius Diogenes' *Marvels Beyond Thule*. The summary of this novel by Photios (*Bibl. cod.* 141) does not allow us to be certain that these are examples of our pattern, though they look suspiciously close. At any rate they seem to illustrate a particular brand of inexorability—that contrived by sheer foreignness. The first is quite vague: Derkyllis and her friend Astraios fall in with the Kelts, 'a wild and savage tribe, and they flee from them on horseback' (Phot. p. 109b 23). The second is a little more definite: 'After this he tells what happened to Derkyllis and Keryllos among the tribe of Astyroi, and further what happened individually to Astraios, and how beyond all hope Keryllos with Derkyllis escaped the incessant dangers among the Astyroi, yet he did not escape paying the penalty which he in fact owed for an ancient crime, but contrary to all expectation he was rescued from the perils, butchered though he was.' (Phot. p. 109b 37 ff.) This is not a perspicuous summary, but it does strongly suggest that Keryllos (or Astraios?) was in danger of being cut up and that in some sense he actually was. This is a probable but not certain example of our pattern.

Inexorability can be contrived not only by drawing one's villains from another society (whether outlaws near home or a distant tribe) but by making them observe a rule of life. This is one way for religion to enter the scene as a variable motivation of the impending murder. If the implacable desperadoes are obeying a fixed custom or following the directions of an oracle, the peril is all the more unavoidable. Here a religious injunction has the same effect in the story as the foreignness of the enemies; both make the doom seem inexorable. But there is a paradox in this, and the paradox is a token of how little seriousness can be found in these novelistic religious rites. Such rites serve two functions: they make the victimisation more inexorable (as rule-bound behaviour) and also more shocking. These are contrary qualities. The appeal to a religious requirement should sanction the inevitable, but in these cases the sanction is precisely unholy and deplorable. This is a highly effective device, so we are not surprised to find it repeated in novel after novel.

Not only are the rites invoked in these scenes a variable which may be omitted in the structural scheme of the formula, they are themselves occasional. Only one example in all that we have surveyed (the rite of stringing up a human victim and throwing spears at her/him, Xen. *Eph.* ii 13) could even appear to be a regular and repeated ritual. The others are mostly *ad hoc* arrangements. The human sacrifice in Achilles Tatius is brought about by an oracle,[71] in Heliodoros by an ambiguous oracular dream, supported by a vaguely religious belief in afterlife. The second example in Heliodoros is occasioned by a victory in war; it is repeated only as often as wars are won, and like all the others it is presented as a primitive barbarism, not as a religious mystery. The occasional nature of these ceremonies in fiction makes it even harder to regard them as reflections of actual rites in real life.[72]

[69] E.g. the near-crucifixion of Habrokomes (Xen. *Eph.* iv 2), of Chaireas (Char. iv 2–3), or Rhodanes (twice, Iambl. *Bab.*=Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 94 p. 74a12, 78a12); the near-ignition of Charikleia (Hld. viii 9); the induced epileptic fit of Leukippe (A.T. iv 9).

[70] Consider the contrast between Kleitophon explaining his misfortunes to the Egyptian general, who will turn out to be a villain but who is able to give Kleitophon the appearance of a sympathetic hearing (A.T. iii 14), and Kleitophon's lament in the case of the outlaws: 'Now, o gods, you have put us into the hands of Egyptian brigands, to deprive us even of a sympathetic hearing. A Greek outlaw would respond to our speech and his hard heart might melt at our prayers . . . If I were as persuasive as the Sirens, still the butchers would not listen' (A.T. iii 10.2 f.).

[71] There is an allusion to the possibility of other such sacrifices at iii 22.3.

[72] Josephus knew an anti-semitic legend of an annual human sacrifice (*contra Apionem* ii 8) and Damokritos of a seven-yearly one (*περὶ Ἰουδαίων*, Suda s.v. '*Damokritos*'). Josephus' critique of the legend is in many ways parallel to my analysis of Lollianos and Dio lxxi 4.

Yet, even given that the fundamental structure of the sacrifice scene in Lollianos is a popular narrative formula, still one might argue that incidental details could have some informative value. To take a modern parallel, a future historian might reconstruct a Christian baptismal liturgy, including actual Latin words of the rite, from a work of popular entertainment—the movie *The Godfather*. Towards the end of that movie occurs a scene of baptism, spliced with scenes of violent murder, the whole designed to shock. This use of ordinary religion to heighten terror for a mass audience is in one sense analogous to the *Phoinikika*; to make the parallel complete we would have to imagine not a conventional baptism but a shocking ceremony, say a Black Mass. Now, without denying that Black Masses occur, we must raise the problem of objectively reporting atrocities. Suppose for the sake of argument that there existed a rite such as is described in the *Phoinikika* somewhere in the murky, unofficial and ill-defined fringes of Mediterranean religion. What plausible connection can we posit between that rite and a popular novel? An eyewitness who escaped and spread the tale?[73] A renegade from the group? A captured member? These very possibilities are already fiction-types. In the nature of the case there can hardly be such a thing as hard, unbiased information about an event which everyone would have regarded as unspeakable. In order for that scene to be inspired by actual events, as Henrichs claims, what chain of informants could we posit, and to what degree would their information be accurate and undistorted by emotion? As soon as we admit the factors of fear and loathing, the narrator's objectivity in the face of his audience is compromised. An irreligious atrocity of this sort is an event which no one could report objectively.

Still, the individual rubrics of the ceremony must somehow be drawn from the common cultural inventory of religious ideas. Since the scene is a shocking one, the natural place to look for analogues is in the current *prohibitions* of religious groups. For instance, the later Dionysiac mysteries, which were not at all so secret as the older mysteries,[74] are known to have had specific prohibitions. An inscription of the second or third century A.D. from Smyrna lists some of these in verse.[75] Among them is the prohibition on eating the heart of an animal victim at a sacrificial meal.[76] And if the victim in Lollianos is a child, this too could be specifically anti-Dionysian, for children were honoured in those fellowships by initiation at a very early age.[77] We might even chance to find somewhere a continuous series of prohibitions which Lollianos has inverted point-by-point, creating a sort of photographic negative, so that his villains do all the things that some religion has forbidden. In this way it might indeed contain some real information about religious ceremonies, as a Black Mass is some kind of evidence for what a proper Mass was and was not.[78] But an analysis such as this, even if we could pursue it, would be very different from regarding the *Phoinikika* as a representation of actual practices. I seriously doubt, moreover, that Lollianos has done anything else than construct an eclectic horror tableau from various and sundry taboos.

Initiation

There are two further questions about this scene which must be raised: in what sense is it an initiation, and is it a *Scheintod*? Some of the actors in the scene are called 'initiates' τοῖ]ς μυουμένοις, B I recto 14). What are they being initiated into? Evidently not a mystery religion, to which any citizen might apply, but a resistance group. The participants swear not to betray the group even if tortured horribly by the authorities, and they consume the victim's blood and flesh to confirm

[73] Charikleia and Kalasiris are secret witnesses of a gruesome necromancy at Hld. vi 12–15. For an historical parallel, *cf.* the role of Vindicius in Plut. *Publ.* 4.

[74] M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund 1957, repr. N.Y. 1975) 4: 'Whereas the old mysteries were hidden in secrecy, the Bacchic mysteries were not. Otherwise, we should not have so many representations that refer to their ceremonies . . .'.

[75] *Ibid.* 133–9; A. D. Nock, 'A Cult Ordinance in Verse', *HSCP* lxiii (1958) 415–21 = *Essays* (n. 1) 847–52.

[76] This is properly a Pythagorean observance, probably quite ancient, and taken over by a Dionysiac fellowship. Nock (n. 75) 416 (= *Essays* 848).

[77] Nilsson (n. 74) 106–15.

[78] Some of the Desperadoes *vs* Victim scenes, insofar as they contain any religious structure at all, may be viewed as a subgroup of the tales of Impiety Punished. The classic instance is the tale of Kinesias (Lys. *fr.* 53 Thalheim = Ath. xii 551d), the leader of what is virtually a satanic group celebrating a Black Mass, as Lysias describes them. *Cf.* the parody of Eleusinian initiation enacted in the house of Poulytion, Paus. i 2.5.

their oath in this extravagant violation of the usual *Eidopfer*.[79] For those who are just joining the band this oath of initiation makes clear the consequences of their commitment. I think it no accident that the closest parallel, Achilles Tatius iii 15, happens to be not only a sin-offering for the outlaw group but also, for two novice desperadoes (Menelaos and Satyros), an initiation into the society of the outlaws. There is no mention of a particular religion or myth. It is simply that when a human victim is demanded by the oracle the brigands deem it fitting that newcomers show their courage and commitment by performing the awful deed. The initiation words πρωτομύστας, μυηθῆναι, iii 23) refer to the social meaning of the ceremony as an induction of new recruits.[80] This tells us something about the range of meanings for this family of words—that 'initiation' can be used of serious, irreversible transfers of allegiance to a kind of new society or a new way of life—but it does not tell us anything about the actual religious belief or practice of a real group.

Certainly 'initiation' cannot have here its usual *connotation* of life-enhancing introduction to a community who hope to share in immortal happiness. Participation in the blessed mysteries and in the awful act described are psychologically and religiously contradictory, and we may apply to Lollianos Dölger's fine analysis of Tertullian on the rumours of Christian infanticide and cannibalism.[81] Such reports were widespread and eventually even documented by the legal testimony of slaves against their masters (Euseb. *HE* v 1.14). If these rumours were so wildly wrong in the case of the Christians, who were a real and populous sect throughout the empire, are they likely to be right in the case of novel villains? The real character of these stories had already been spotted by Minucius Felix (30.5) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 9.9), who refer them back to Catiline's conspiracy.[82] Enemies of the state, Catilinarian or Christian, were conceived as desperadoes, as a menace to all that is decent, as killers and cannibals who would profane the basic order of religion and society.[83] Other examples of the same political slander are Diod. Sic. xxii 5.1, Plut. *Publ.* 4. The heart of Henrich's reading of Lollianos is that a story which is mere propaganda in the other cases is here for once an actual report, because there are *no polemical distortions* against an enemy but rather a careful and accurate ritual description.[84] In reply I have tried to show that novel villains are conceived as horrific—in this lies the *tendentious perspective*, rather than against a real, political enemy—and that careful description of a ritual is a fictional technique of horror, seen at its best in Achilles Tatius. There is nothing unpredictable in Lollianos' liturgy except the vomiting and farting.

The ritual description in Achilles Tatius does, in a sense, contain a hidden meaning, whose revelation will be my final argument against considering the ceremony as a veridical report. One of Achilles Tatius' regular techniques is to transfer the terminology of mystery cults into the realm

[79] Though only A.T. iii 15 among the surviving novelists has given us a scene of sacrifice which serves for the induction of new recruits into an outlaw band, the idea that outlaws are a counter-society with their own quasi-military rules of organization, inflexibly opposed to the established order, is common (*Onos*, Apuleius, Xen. *Eph.*, Heliodoros). Even if Lollianos' scene were not fiction but a camera-accurate glimpse of actual proceedings, one could view the atrocities as 'motivated by . . . anti-social feelings rather than by religious convictions' (Sandy (n. 1) 371).

[80] *Cf.* Livy x 38, the Samnite *legio linteata*; x 38.2, *velut initiatis militibus*.

[81] 'Sacramentum infanticidii. Die Schlactung eines Kindes und der Genuss seines Fleisches und Blutes als vermeintlicher Einweihungsakt im ältesten Christentum', *Ant. u. Christ.* iv (1934) 188–228.

[82] Sallust makes clear that some of his information is transmitted by rumour (14.7, 17.7, 19.4, 22.1, 48.7). His report of Catiline mentions only human blood (22.1, which may be no atrocity at all but merely a solemn oath on a self-inflicted wound, *cf.* n. 51) but was later understood as an instance of child murder (Dio xxxvii 30.3). The pattern of accusation is pre-set and can ironically be charged against the very reporter (*Invect. in Sall.* 14).

[83] Brigandage, sacrilege and child murder combined in a scrap of modern Greek folklore: 'I think I read somewhere that in France two men wanted the devil to help them do bad things, to steal or something. They set up a picture of a goat and they killed a boy for the devil so he would help. They prayed, "Oh Diavolo, we give you this boy so that you will see we pray to you and that we worship you so that you will come help us. Diavolo, you who help the woman murder her unwanted child, you help those who steal . . .". I don't know how the rest of it went. The Solomonaiki has the liturgy for the black magic in it.' R. & E. Blum (n. 25) 99.

[84] 'Dieser heidnische Weiheakt (Kindestötung und Verschwörungsritualen) ist für uns nur in der Polemik fassbar, deren Zuverlässigkeit meist zweifelhaft ist. Hier ist die Bedeutung des Romanpapyrus evident, der Dölgers Kombinationen in überraschender Weise bestätigt. . . . Die gnostischen Sekten und Christen nachgesagten Vergehen wie Kindesmord, Kosten von dem Fleisch und Blut des Opfers sowie Promiscuität finden sich hier als Bestandteile eines zussammenhängende Rituals ohne die Verzerrungen, die eine der Propaganda dienende Polemik notwendig mit sich bringt.' Henrichs 37.

of sex, and the entire design of his sacrifice scene contains a *double entendre*. 'Initiation' is used as a metaphor for learning how to conduct an affair (i 9.7) and perform sexual intercourse (ii 19.1). In the prologue Kleitophon's experience of Eros has visibly marked him as an 'initiate', who now agrees to tell the story of his long and highly detoured approach to the actual consummation with his beloved (i 2.2). In the course of this risqué story, the author likes to tease us by juxtaposing literal and metaphorical statements of the same erotic act. Some of these symbolic representations of sexual experience in the novel are fairly obvious. Leukippe's mother dreams that a brigand has pinned her daughter to the ground on her back and plunges his naked sword into her vagina and saws up through her stomach (ii 23.5). This dream occurs at the very moment when Kleitophon is mounting the bed to have sex with Leukippe. No reader can miss the meaning. At ii 1 Leukippe sings a lyric on the blushing petals of the rose, which contains a beautiful genital description. Kleitophon immediately fantasizes an image of Leukippe's own lips as the rose-calyx. The entire poem invites a reading in terms of labia as well as lips. The next time Kleitophon tries to have sex with Leukippe (iv 1.2), he is repulsed first by her and then in a symbolic dream wherein the doors of Aphrodite's temple slam shut when he tries to enter. These examples should suffice to make clear that Achilles Tatius seeks out vivid symbolic representations of sexual acts, often juxtaposing them with more literal versions. The scene of Leukippe's disembowelment contains some of these elements. Her position on the ground and the plunging in of the sword by a brigand (iii 15.4) are probably meant to recall the dream of Leukippe's mother. When Kleitophon and Leukippe are re-united, he stares in fright at the empty hollow (earlier called the mysteries of her stomach, iii 16.3),[85] they embrace, cling together and then faint away in a quick parody of the sexual act (iii 17.7). Thus, the closest parallel to Lollianos' 'initiation' scene should serve as a warning not to insist on a properly religious meaning for it.[86] The entire sacrifice in Achilles Tatius is a literary sham. The religious and ceremonial trappings there have about as much to do with the actualities of ancient religion as the trick sword does with the actualities of ancient warfare. If we were to take it seriously as a representation of a mystic ceremony, we would be putting ourselves precisely on the level of understanding of the brigands who are taken in by the trick.

Scheintod

This leads to an inevitable, though ultimately unanswerable, question: could the ritual murder in Lollianos be a *Scheintod*? The solution, if there is one, must contain tricks analogous to those in the pseudo-sacrifice in Achilles Tatius. There are two details in Lollianos which suggest this might be the case. Just as the sacrificers in Achilles, who actually controlled the trick, were introduced by the words 'I didn't recognize who they were since they were in full armour'—a clue which may escape many readers but is meant to be remembered—so the sacrificer in Lollianos is marked out from the rest by a scarlet waistband (B 1 recto 10) ἐ̣[ν τού]τῳ παρέρχεται ἄλλος γυμνὸς περίζ[ωμα]ἔχων φοινίκου[ν. This is just the sort of detail which is both memorable and apparently insignificant—an ideal clue—and it identifies the anonymous person who kills the *pais*. Second, it was crucial in Achilles Tatius that the brigands be kept away from the altar (iii 15.4, 21.6), so as not to perceive the ruse. There is in Lollianos what may be an effective diversion designed for the same end. The flesh and blood are evidently disagreeable to eat: there is mention of something vomited (B 1 verso 8, *cf.* Homer's Polyphemos after a meal of human flesh, *Od.* ix 373 f.), of indigestible food (9 f.), of belching (11, *cf.* Euripides' Polyphemos after a meal of human flesh, *Kyk.* 410) and farting (12). The last-named is so noxious that all the company are overcome: 'They (no longer: supply οὐκέτι) held out against the unpleasantness of the odour.' Whether or not it was intentional, the participants seem effectively to be diverted from a closer inspection of the corpse. Conceivably the flesh or blood of the meal was medicated to produce the nausea and flatulence.

Scheintod regularly befalls a heroine, so we must wonder if this victim is someone's beloved. In

[85] μυστήρια is used of women's 'secrets' or 'genitals' in a rare reference to Lesbianism, Artem. i 80 (97.9–14 Pack).

[86] Both sophisticated and popular entertainment show cases of hypocritical religious façades concealing an erotic adventure: low-brow—the *moechus Anubis* mime (Tert. *Apol.* 15, Joseph. *Ant.* xviii 66–80); middle-brow—Ps.-Kallisth. *Alexander Romance* i 1–21; high-brow—Hld. ii 33, iii 9, iv 5–9.

view of the many similarities between the *Phoinikika* and Petronius' *Satyrika*, Xenophon's *Ephesiaka*, and Achilles Tatius, all of which feature romantic affairs between men, it is quite possible that the *pais* is the boyfriend (παιδικά) of another male character. *Cf.* especially the dramatic endangerment of Giton at *Sat.* 94 and 108. In tragic subplots the boyfriend sometimes actually dies (Xen. *Eph.* iii 1 f., A.T. i 12, ii 34); this too is possible for the *Phoinikika*. In the narratives of Xenophon and Achilles Tatius, μειράκιον is the more usual word for 'boyfriend',[87] but παῖς is used at Xen. *Eph.* iii 2.10 and in other narratives, such as Antonius Liberalis *Met.* 8. The latter is identical in structure with the story of Euthymos (Paus. vi 6.7–11) and suggests the possibility that any of our surviving novels, novellas or their episodes may have circulated as stories about male lovers.

Another possibility, suggested to me by Prof. Susan Stephens, is that the victim is after all a young woman, disguised as a *pais* (whether servant or boyfriend). This is very attractive. It is not often attested in the surviving novels (Xen. *Eph.* v 1.7, Apul. *Met.* vii 6)[88] but is consistent with the courage of many heroines in facing the worst the world has to offer.

If the *pais* is a male and a servant, not a lover, the narrative parallels would suggest that the death is a real one: Xen. *Eph.* i 14.4–6, *cf.* the centurion's 'companion' killed at Dio lxxi 4 (III below).

Note that if the death is a fake, the *pais* is probably not to be reckoned among the corpses who are undressed at B 1 verso 24. The lack of a wound is not noticed by anyone during the disrobing of the dead bodies, and there are evidently eleven (line 22) guards—too many to all be accomplices. Possibly the sacrificer, whom we have suspected, was one of the group and managed to handle the clothes and corpse of the *pais* himself. Remembering the similar action of a 'good' brigand at Apul. *Met.* vii 9, we could imagine that this inside-man even suggested this disposition of the corpses in order to save them from exposure or some worse fate, such as incineration. It was that same 'good' brigand who doctored the wine with a sleeping drug to inhibit and capture the rest (*Met.* vii 12). This helper might even turn out to be Glauketes, who is named in all of the other fragments but not in this one, just as the sacrificers in Achilles Tatius turn out to be familiar friends.[89]

One of the fundamental truths of popular entertainment is that no one has to die. Ghosts of the dead may be fakes, multiple deaths may be pretended. If magical power is allowed a role, resurrection may take place, as it does in numerous Christian romances, beginning with Leukios' *Acts of John* (second century A.D.). A relevant example from the *Acts of Andrew* tells of an infant butchered by its mother, given to a dog to eat, and still brought back to life by the apostle Andrew.[90] Multiple *Scheintod* occurs in the Jealous Mistress mime (P.Oxy. 413). The best example must be quoted in full:

> 'I believe that I should not pass over at least one educated dog, whom I saw myself in Rome. The dog appeared in a mime with a dramatic story-line and many characters. He gave a fine performance of various actions and emotions required by the plot and in particular, when they experimented on him with a supposedly deadly poison (which in the plot turned out to be merely a sleeping potion), he took the bread soaked in 'poison' and after gulping it down he began in a moment to shudder and misstep

[87] Both παῖς and μειράκιον are used in the discussion of love at A.T. ii 35–8, but there the tone is rather different from that of the narratives.

[88] Hyg. 274.10–13 (Hagnodike the first woman doctor) represents the story-pattern of a popular novella; *cf.* Bonner, 'The Trial of St. Eugenia', *AJP* xli (1920) 253–64; Paus. v 6.7–8 (a mother passes as a male trainer to bring her son to the Olympic games); Suet. *Aug.* 45; Iambl. *Bab.* (Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 94 p. 78a), Euphrates dresses as the farmer's daughter and she as the executioner; J. Geffcken, *The Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism*, tr. S. MacCormack (Amsterdam 1978) 291; E. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (London 1969) 68. According to Eustathios, Parthenope cut her hair short for a different reason (on Dionys. Perieg. 358, Müller *GGM* 280); he may be reporting not the novel but a parallel legend.

[89] The corpses might even be identical with the two corpses in P. Oxy. 1368: Glauketes is frightened by their ghostly request for burial.

[90] James n. 22 473 f. Resurrection is so taken for granted in the *Acts of John* that characters discuss its advisability in particular cases as if they were recommending a hot toddy. Drusiana, lying in her tomb, is nearly violated by the wicked Kallimachos and his henchman Fortunatus, but a huge serpent kills the latter and sits on the former for several days. John enters the tomb and brings Kallimachos back to his senses, then restores Drusiana to life, at which point they debate whether to resurrect Fortunatus as well. They do so but it turns out to have been a bad judgment: the resurrected villain gnashes his teeth, curses them and exits stage left (70–84, James 245–9).

and let his head sag down. Finally he lay stretched out on the ground like a corpse and let them drag his body and carry him around as the plot of the drama required. And when he noticed his cue in certain words and movements of the actors, he at first began to stir gently, as if waking up from a deep slumber, and then raising his head he looked around. To the wonder of the audience (or characters) he then got up and went to the right actor and fawned on him, wagging his tail and showing all the signs of canine affection. Everyone was thrilled, even the emperor, for the aged Vespasian was present in the audience in the theatre of Marcellus.'[91]

The theatrical flair of this multiple *Scheintod* (the dog and presumably at least one other person among the 'many characters' of the plot) makes it the finest example I know of the entertainment value of popular fiction and drama.[92] When we are asked to think of *Scheintod* in the novels as a symbolically religious motif, as *Tod und Erweckung*, we should remember Plutarch's canine mime.

III. *BOUKOLOI*, THE BOUKOLOI AND XENOPHOBIC FANTASIES

Dio's account of the Boukoloi (lxxi 4)[93] has been the basis of the common belief among historians of literature and politics that there was an actual group of outlaws in lower Egypt who caused a major civil disturbance in A.D. 172[94] and that this group was the model of fictionalized accounts in Achilles Tatius and Heliodoros[95]—and now Lollianos.[96] The addition of Lollianos' characters to the list of desperadoes in fiction who reflect the 'historical Boukoloi' does more than emphasize how strongly they caught the imaginations of writers of their time. The coincidence between *two* scenes of ritual murder with cannibalism in novels of the late second century A.D. and one scene of ritual murder with cannibalism in a history of the early third century A.D. may be the result not of fiction taking its text from history but of an historian taking his colour, if not his entire text, from fiction.

The problem of segregating fact from fiction, and bandits from the lore of banditry[97] is a difficult one. Mickwitz, for instance, in dealing with outlawry in the ancient world, treats the *boukoloi* in Achilles Tatius and Heliodoros and the shepherds in Xenophon of Ephesos as actual Egyptian bandits, but gives up hope of determining what might be historically reliable in the

[91] Plut. *de soll. anim.* 973e–974a.

[92] The cross-over from drama to novel may be illustrated by stories of sleeping draughts thought to be poison—Apul. *Met.* x 11, Xen. *Eph.* iii 5.11. The Apuleian novella is analysed as a mime by H. Wiemken, *Der griechische Mimus* (Bremen 1972).

[93] Supported by refs in the *Hist. Augusta* (a hollow reed indeed) to Marius Maximus (*Marc. Ant.* 21.2, *Avid. Cass.* 6.7.).

[94] Or A.D. 171, as argued by J. Schwartz, 'Sur une demande de prêtres de Socnopéonèse', *Ann. du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* xliv (1944) 235–42.

[95] E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*[5] 451 n. 1, 623; A. von Premerstein, *Klio* xiii (1913) 93; F. Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft* i 123; Sethe, '*Βουκόλοι*', *RE* iii (1899) 1013.

[96] Henrichs believes that the human sacrifice of the *Phoinikika* is that of the Boukoloi ('Die Eingeweihten des Romanpapyrus kann man mit den ägyptischen Bukolen identifizieren' 37; '. . . so war die kultische Wirklichkeit der Bukolen', 50) but that it is not directly connected with the celebrated (or notorious) episode narrated by Dio lxxi 4. 'Even if our attempt to link the Boukoloi and the *Phoinikika* were to be contradicted by new finds, it remains true that the oath-sacrifice in Lollianos' novel is strikingly similar to the ritual murder of the Boukoloi described by Cassius Dio and Achilles Tatius. This similarity is explained best by related phenomena, which first become fully intelligible in connection with the myth of Dionysos-Zagreus', Henrichs 51.

[97] Trenkner (n. 3) refers to tales of wily thieves (29 f., 87 f.) and desperate *coups* (49 f.). In the novels, a favourite ploy is the noble youth doubling as a bandit: Thyamis in the *Aithiopika*, Hippothoos in the *Ephesiaka*, Menelaos and Kallisthenes in *Leukippe* (*cf.* viii 17.3, *ἔρως δέ με λῃστείας ὑποκριτὴν πεποίηκε*); already in the *Odyssey* a noble man pretends to be an illegitimate noble man turned adventurer, xiv 199 ff.; and Lucius is falsely believed to have turned to a life of crime (*Met.* vii 1 f.). On the popular stage there was the robber-mime (Reich, *Der Mimus* i 88–92, 198, 564) and historiography contains many anecdotes about heroic desperadoes (Dio lxxv 2.4, Claudius in Judaea; lxxvi 10.1, Bulla in Italy; Alexander's *Letter to Aristotle* 9) and in later times the same stories were sanctioned by adding the reform of the brigand into a monk (*PG* xxxiv 1145, xxi 105; *PL* lxxiii 1170 f.; Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 52, 73; Sulp. Sev. *Vita Martini* 5.6; R. MacMullen, *Aegyptus* xliv [1964] 198). The 'Robin Hood' stories told of Bulla contain the very same elements that are used in the accounts of the Boukoloi: bribery, disguise and military entrapment; see below p. 176. The larger social and historical picture of banditry is well sketched by E. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (London 1969). Since his historical sources are poems and ballads, Hobsbawm faces a similar problem of interpreting the myths of banditry as an image of the real patterns of bandit behaviour. His analysis of 'social bandits' is the proper background for further study of the Boukoloi.

bandit-stories of Apuleius and the *Onos*.[98] MacMullen has raised questions about the role of the centurion in Dio's account, which (if it was real) was at least dishonourable.[99] Schwartz has probed the factual plausibility of Dio's account and sees in it the overriding influence of popular legend.[100] In this section I will analyse Cassius Dio lxxi 4 for its formulae of historical reporting and story-telling and then widen the discussion to include an ancient critic of historical fiction whose views were much the same as mine.

> *καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Βουκόλοι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κινηθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰγυπτίους προσαποστήσαντες ὑπὸ ἱερεῖ τινὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν γυναικείοις στολαῖς τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠπατηκότες ὡς δὴ γυναῖκες τῶν Βουκόλων καὶ χρυσία δώσουσαι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προσιόντα σφίσι κατέκοψαν, καὶ τὸν συνόντα αὐτῷ καταθύσαντες ἐπί τε τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ συνώμοσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέφαγον. (ἦν δὲ Ἰσίδωρος ἀνδρίᾳ πάντων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄριστος.) ἔπειτα ἐκ παρατάξεως τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ῥωμαίους νικήσαντες μικροῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἷλον, εἰ μὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ στρατηγήσας ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σφῶν ὁμόνοιαν λῦσαι καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρίσαι (διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐθάρρησε συμβαλεῖν ἀθρόοις αὐτοῖς), οὕτω δὴ στασιάσαντας ἐχειρώσατο.*
>
> 'And also the Boukoloi, as they are called, started an uprising in Egypt and moved the other Egyptians to revolt with them under one Isidoros, a priest. First, in women's clothing they fooled the centurion of the Romans, as if they were wives of the Boukoloi and were going to give him gold for their husbands. When he came close they cut him down, and sacrificing the one with him they swore an oath on his entrails and ate them. (And of all the men of his time Isidoros was the best in courage.) Then in a pitched battle they defeated the Romans in Egypt and within a little they would have captured Alexandria too but that Cassius was dispatched from Syria against them and managed by strategy to break up their agreement with each other and to divide them from each other, for in view of their desperation and their numbers he did not dare to attack them grouped together. Thus when they were at odds with each other he defeated them.' (Cassius Dio lxxi 4)

The entire account is given in two long clauses, marked by *πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα,* and separated by a somewhat intrusive remark on the courage of Isidore, which I have set off in parentheses. The first clause describes the ruse and atrocity of the (so-called) Boukoloi. The gold which is offered may be understood either as a ransom for men who have been captured or as a diplomatic bribe to ward off an impending attack. The parallel in Achilles Tatius (iv 13) favours the latter; there the old men, whose upraised palm branches conceal the spearmen behind them, make a double offer—a private bribe of a hundred talents of silver for the general and a hundred hostages to take back to the satrapy as a spoil of sorts. The *strategema* of putting an enemy off guard by wearing women's clothing, usually with weapons concealed, is very familiar as a narrative situation in history and fiction.[101] Shall we say that the ruse was repeated so often in history because it worked so well? Or that the story was often told because it was so entertaining? We must at least acknowledge that we are in the presence of the anecdotal and that the well-turned tale may be the end product of actual Boukolic ingenuity (perhaps prompted in turn by a tale) or of some unlocatable Greco-Egyptian *Lust zu fabulieren*.

The second story, however, whether considered as fact or as fiction, is distinctly odd. The centurion is cut down, his companion is made the religious victim. Here both military and narrative strategy cry out against a mistake. The point of killing the comrade must surely be to terrorize the centurion with a proof of their desperation, so that he can take the message back to the authorities. As a fictional narrative, the parallels with Achilles Tatius and Lollianos show us the power of arranging the gruesome death of an associate (beloved heroine, *pais*) before the very eyes of a hero. The value of the atrocity is spoiled by killing the centurion, since no one on the enemy

[98] *RE* Suppl. vii (1940) 1239–44.

[99] R. MacMullen, 'Nationalism in Roman Egypt', *Aegyptus* xliv (1964) 179–99.

[100] J. Schwartz, 'Quelques Observations sur des romans grecs', *Ant. Class.* xxxvi (1967) 536–52. 'En fait, sa "description" des Boucoloi ne peut pas être cohérente, car il unit, non sans quelque arbitraire, deux histoires.' I put 'account' in quotes, as Schwartz does 'description', to pose the question of the historicity of the text.

[101] History: Hdt. v 18; Xen. *Hell.* v 4.5–6 with an alternative version at v 4.7 = Plut. *Pelop.* 11.1–2 = Plut. *de gen. Socr.* 596d (an historical novella based on the incident); Plut. *Solon* 8.5. Fiction: A.T. ii 18.; Ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 259 *Tyrannicida veste muliebri*, in which the tyrannicide complains that the statue honouring his deed has represented him in the woman's clothing in which he actually performed it; perhaps also we should list Eur. *Hek.* 1160–71 as a variant on this theme and, facetiously, Plaut. *Casina* 900–10, which does conceal a 'sword'.

side knows what happened.[102] Leaving the bodies for the Romans to find them is less effective since evisceration by itself does not carry the tale of religious sacririce and cannibalism. If the Boukoloi's design was to kill both horribly as a warning to the Romans, why does Dio represent the comrade and not the centurion as the special victim? We have some reason to suspect that the account is shaped by fictional motives, but it will require further analysis to make the claim a clear one.

There are three categories of data in this passage, and each has a different relation to historical truth: (1) proper names, (2) formulae of historical reporting, (3) anecdotes. First, the proper names: Isidoros, Boukoloi, Cassius, Alexandria, Egypt, Romans. The information provided by these names is unambiguous. They may be untrue or incorrect, but their meaning at least is clear and univocal.

Second, Dio informs us of the Boukoloi's mood (desperation, *ἀπόνοια*—these are literally Desperadoes) and of Cassius' strategy. This kind of assertion is more abstract, being a summary or reduction of all the particular details of character and of campaigning. As historical information, their truth or falsity is of a different order than that of proper names, for counter-examples up to a point would show them not to be false but merely incomplete or less than fully adequate generalizations. Further, such statements often have the quality not of fresh observation but of formulaic shorthand. The outlines of the Boukoloi-episode are much the same as those of the Jewish uprising of 131/2 A.D. (Dio lxix 13): small beginnings, spreading to the rest of the country, atrocities (*πολλὰ κακά*) against the Romans, the sending of a special general just in time from another field of operations, the strategy of dividing to conquer, a concerted attack being unadvisable in view of the enemy's numbers and desperation. Compare lxix 13.3 *ὃς ἄντικρυς μὲν οὐδαμόθεν ἐτόλμησε τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμβαλεῖν, τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν αὐτῶν ὁρῶν* and lxxi 4.2 *δία γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐθάρρησε συμβαλεῖν ἀθρόοις αὐτοῖς.*[103] These items have the ring of standard formulae in the perception, presentation and (no doubt) actuality of political revolt. To characterise some of Dio's statements as summary and as formulaic is not to dismiss their validity altogether but to reclassify the *kind* of information that is offered. It eludes the simple dichotomy of true or false.

In the same class of formulae fall Dio's standard scenes of battle (lxii 2, 10 [*cf.* A.T. iv 14], lxxiv 12 f.) or orgies (lxii 15.4–6). These descriptions use available clichés for typical events. And he is well aware of this. Though Dio does not develop or share with us his principles (if any) of source criticism,[104] that does not mean that he regards all of his words as equally and simply true. We are warned in the preface (i 2) that some features of his fine writing might lead us to doubt the plain truth of his history. What this means is that Dio is conscious of allowing several kinds of stylistic overlay, but that he pledges to do so only when it is appropriate[105] and not misleadingly counter-factual. His scenes of the Sabine women (i 5.5–7) and of Caesar and Cleopatra (xlii 34.3–35.1) display the horror and intrigue of those critical, almost mythic, moments. Still another sub-group of standard patterns are the national character-types, usually pejorative (Egyptians, li 17.1–2; Alexandrians, lxv 8.7; Gauls, Africans, Syrians, lxxviii 6.1).

This last group of formulae of political reporting brings us to the third class of information in the account of the Boukoloi—the anecdote—because it is assumptions of national prejudice which make plausible the stories of atrocity by a 'desperate' people against the Romans. The atrocities Dio records on the part of the Jews in the revolts of A.D. 117 (lxviii 32.1), which included cannibalism and torture on a massive scale, must be read as propaganda.[106] Similarly the story of the Boukoloi's atrocity is not an impartial account but must be read from the point of view of Roman fear in Alexandria.[107]

[102] Atrocity as an act of display: Hdt. i 73.5, Klearchos *fr.* 47 Wehrli (=Ath. xii 541c–e).

[103] The military situation in A.T. contains the same elements—desperation and massive numbers (*ἀνδρῶν ἀπονενοημένων . . . πολὺ συνηθροῖσθαι ληστήριον, ὡς εἶναι μυρίους*, iii 24.1) and reluctance of the general to attack under these circumstances (iv 1.1).

[104] F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1964) 34, 42 f., 72.

[105] *ἐς ὅσον γε καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε*, i 2.

[106] A. Fuks, 'The Jewish Revolt in Egypt (A.D. 115–117) in the light of the Papyri', *Aegyptus* xxxiii (1953) 131–58. He labels the 'account' in Dio lxviii 32 as a 'late, clearly anti-Semitic story' (156). J. Schwartz, 'Avidius Cassius et les Sources de l'Histoire Auguste (à propos d'une légende rabbinique)' *Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1963* (Bonn 1964) 135–64.

[107] Cannibalism, quite apart from whether it occurs or not, is still *used* as a xenophobic fiction by writers on classical subjects. A glaring example is E. A. Wallis

The third category of information in our passage is the anecdotal—the deceptive cross-dressing and the ritual murder. I have displayed above (pp. 167–70; n. 101) the evidence for calling these anecdotes formulae of historical and fictional narrative. Their real truth-elusiveness resides in the nature of the anecdotal as such, rather than their formulaic character. Anecdotes are like proper names (class 1) in being particular, not abstract, but like the formulae of reporting (class 2) in eluding a simple verdict of true or false. An anecdote is that special kind of fact or event which stands out from the ordinary as something memorable and worth retelling for its story-like qualities. In the nature of the case, memorable anecdotes are striking variations from the routinely informative, and are always presented as a special kind of truth, in that they elicit not the simple judgment 'True' but rather 'Extraordinary yet true'. Now Dio does not specialize, as Herodotos did, in reminding us of the variably storied and variably credible nature of his *logoi*.[108] It is part of Dio's view of history itself that well-turned stories occur and if such a story correctly expresses the tenor of an historical situation, it deserves to be included. Dramatic or fictional qualities are not a disqualification, but a mark or portent of significance. History rises to the occasion, and moments of relative greatness are signalled not only by omens but by what we would call novellas or memorable vignettes. Just as propaganda and racism are a powerful shaping force in Dio's historiography and are based on the ordinary formulae of partisan perception and reporting, so too the belief in significant anecdotes is basic and shows his unquestioning acceptance of the ordinary formulae of narrative.

A few examples: a cluster of six marvellous escape stories occurs at xlvii 7–10 to illuminate the proscriptions of the first triumvirate. Worth retelling here is the story of Sextus Condianus (lxxii 6, *c.* A.D. 182), who when he learned that he was to be killed by order of Commodus, drank the blood of a hare, mounted a horse and purposely fell from it in full view of many. Vomiting the hare's blood as if it were his own, he was carried, apparently on the point of death, to his room. There the body of a ram was placed in a coffin, carried out and burned in his stead. Thereafter he wandered about, constantly altering his appearance and clothing. Sextus, in being a 'real' person, is not thereby insulated from the world of fictional patterns such as *Scheintod*. One can imagine that he had now and again enjoyed hearing such stories and perhaps talking to actors about stage-blood, little knowing that the day would come when he would have to invent a superlative plot along those lines and act it out himself. I have noted above the ruse at Salonai (p. 164, Dio xlii 11.2) and the romantic bandit stories (p. 175, n. 97, Dio lxxv 2.4, lxxvi 10.1).

If our data were limited to the texts already mentioned, one might at this point be inclined to conjecture that a condensed and slightly rearranged version of the Boukoloi-fictions in A.T. had been transmitted by various tale-bearers until they reached Dio, and that what he records as an interesting anecdote had originated entirely in the melodramatic fantasies of the novelist. But there are other data concerning *boukoloi* and the Boukoloi. A critical review of them leads us to further variations on the theme of history imitating story. By other data I do not mean the well-known passages of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, which present a pseudo-historiographic account of the Boukoloi which is stitched together out of various literary reminiscences (e.g., i 5.4 = Hdt. v 16.3).[109] Nothing about Heliodoros' Boukoloi can be taken as historical data. I mean rather the references in Eratosthenes and Strabo to *boukoloi* specifically located in the neighbourhood of Pharos before the founding of Alexandria. Dio's late second century Boukoloi are unlocalized but they are said to threaten Alexandria. A.T.'s Boukoloi infest the entire Delta; their principal

Budge, *Osiris* (London 1911, repr. 1973) 176, 195 (note the explicit statement of the audience's and narrator's self-identification with the government Administrator as a safe context for the narration). A less outrageous example which nonetheless contains the same assumptions about the narrative context is M. Cary–E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (London 1929) 8. Some ancient authors were more acute; *cf.* the strong statement of Hdt. ii 45, also Isok. *Bousiris*, Diod. Sic. i 67, and the analysis by Eratosthenes, p. 179 below.

[108] I remember only one instance of that Herodotean note: the Armenian leader Tiridates at costly games in his honour at Puteoli shot at wild beasts from his elevated seat and—if anyone can believe it, *εἴ γέ τωι πιστόν*—transfixed and killed two bulls with a single arrow (lxiii 3.2).

[109] J. Schwartz (n. 89) 540: 'Ces Boucoloi se présentent comme l'un des accessoires obligés du roman grec exotique. . . . Pour (Héliodore), ils ne constituent plus qu'un souvenir littéraire, tout comme chez St. Jérôme (*Vita Hilarionis* 43 = *PL* xxiii 52 f., *ad ea loca quae vocantur Bucolia, eo quod nullus ibi Christianorum esset, sed barbara tantum et ferox natio*).'

operations seem to be located in the regions around Pelousion, the easternmost Nile mouth.[110] (Heliodoros' Boukoloi live in marshes quite specifically near the Herakleotic, westernmost Nile mouth.) The incompleteness of Dio and the contradiction of Heliodoros with A.T. as to the location of the Boukoloi has been solved too hastily and uncritically by reference to Eratosthenes (I B 9 Berger=Strabo xvii 1.19). In a fragment which is more important for the history of travellers' tales than for the geography of Egyptian banditry, Eratosthenes mentions *boukoloi* brigands (βουκόλοι λῃισταί) who were said to live around the harbour of Pharos and attack ships which tried to land there. Strabo in his description of Alexandria gives a fuller account of the same information (xvii 1.6). When did the *boukoloi*, a fairly secure fragment of pre-Alexandrian local history, become the Boukoloi, a quite specific group of uncertain (or even contradictory) location in the late second century?

A critic of fiction

To answer that we must look first at what Eratosthenes and Strabo actually say about these persons. In a comment on the Bousirite nome, Strabo refers to Eratosthenes' *criticism* of travellers' tales on the theme of hostility in far distant lands:

> 'Eratosthenes says that though it is a custom common to *all* barbarians to repel strangers from their land, the Egyptians are accused of it (in a special way) through the made-up stories (μεμυθευμένων) about Bousiris in the Bousirite nome, told by later writers with the intention of slandering this place by a charge of (earlier) hostility to strangers (ἀξενίαν), though there never was, by Zeus, any such king or tyrant named Bousiris. He says they also cite the line "to go to Egypt, a long and painful way" (*Od.* iv 483) which is supported by various points, including (Egypt's) harbourlessness and the inaccessibility of the existing harbour at Pharos and its being protected by *boukoloi* brigands who attack those who land there.' (xvii 1.19)

So far from being a testimony to the existence of *the* Boukoloi, this passage is in the first place a critique of Hellenocentric fictions which exaggerate the actual dangers of travel by tales of monsters. The *boukoloi* here mentioned are simply flock-tenders of the sort who might be found on any shore, as natural a feature of the landscape as harbours or harbourlessness. In the absence of an official shore patrol, the unofficial coast-guard of any country consists of those who happen or choose to live there, for instance, cowherds or shepherds. Eratosthenes' point is that while the dangers to Greeks at Pharos are real, the stories which Greek travellers have told about the place are exaggerated.

Such fairy tale xenophobia can be avoided. Literature contains several fairly realistic versions of a hostile reception on a strange coast. An early case is the meeting of Odysseus, newly landed on an island unknown to him, with a young man who is an ἐπιβώτωρ μήλων (*Od.* xiii 222).[111] We have a more exciting account at Xen. *Eph.* iii 12.2 in which some *local* shepherds (τῶν ἐκεῖ ποιμένων) attack the newly shipwrecked Habrokomes and lead him to the slave market in Pelousion. The division between herdsmen and highwaymen, also between fishermen and pirates, was never too clear. It seems to have been more a question of opportunity and risk of detection than sheer vocation. Such meetings and attacks are unexceptional and must have

[110] Kleitophon and friends set sail from Berytos on a ship bound for Alexandria (ii 31.6). When it sinks they are washed ashore at Pelousion, the easternmost branch of the Nile (iii 5.6), from which they set out by small hired boat to sail along the Nile to Alexandria (iii 9.1). While passing an unspecified city they are attacked by a group whom their boatman identifies (in the generic singular) as ὁ Βουκόλος (iii 9.2). The 'King' of the Boukoloi, and presumably their base of operations, is said to be a two-day journey from there (iii 9.3). Within two stades of that village they encounter militia (iii 13.1). By the next day they have reached a trench and the place of Leukippe's sacrifice, which is near a village filled with tens of thousands of brigands (iii 24.1) and from which Menelaos and Satyros have just escaped by running (iii 17.1). That village is described and its name given as Nikochis (iv 12). It is destroyed by a force from Alexandria (the metropolis, iv 18.1) and the whole river celebrates its freedom from the Boukoloi (iv 18.1, 3). The subsequent boat journey to Alexandria takes three days along the Nile (v 1.1).

[111] Prof. Sandy calls attention to *Od.* xi 293: Melampous in his attempt to rustle cattle from Iphikles was captured for the king by βουκόλοι ἀγροιῶται.

occurred frequently. An important case of the motif is Eurip. *I.T.*:[112] the two Greeks, newly landed, are spotted by herdsmen (βουκόλοι 254, 305; βουφορβοί 237, 265) and the messenger reports their reception of the strangers. Heliodoros seems to have modelled his famous opening scene (i 1–4) on Euripides. Both narratives are from the point of view of native *boukoloi* who witness marvellous sights on the sea shore—battle and slaughter or its aftermath and a wounded man being nursed. There is a division of opinions among the watchers: the naive reaction is to honour the strangers as gods (*I.T.* 267–74, Hld. i 2), the sceptical reaction is to treat them as mere mortals (*I.T.* 275–9, Hld. i 2). The *boukoloi* are frightened by the sudden motion of one of the strangers leaping from a rock, with a shaking of limbs or hair (*I.T.* 281–3, 295 f., Hld. i 2). The strangers are seen in a tableau of wounded man being nursed by his companion (*I.T.* 310–14, Hld. i 2). The strangers are taken prisoner and led off to the king for disposition (*I.T.* 334 f., Hld. i 4–5, *cf.* i 7 οἱονεὶ βασιλέα τινά). In both cases virtually nothing is known about the marvellous couple except that they are Hellenes (*I.T.* 247, Hld. i 3 they do not know the girl's language; i 7 the prisoners are assigned to the care of a Greek who will act as their interpreter).

This is the kind of story which Eratosthenes would approve as a report of the normal, realistic ἀξενία liable to be found on any foreign shore. The exaggerated stories which he would criticize are much more common, being a staple of travellers' tales in all ages. Eratosthenes pinpoints Egyptophobia as the motive which has caused ordinary *boukoloi* to become notorious ogres like Bousiris. This is a special case of ethnocentrism, the assumption that things at home are normal whereas in distant lands people are likely to be monstrous. The social function of ethnocentric tales is to define the cultural boundaries within which 'we' feel at home, safe and comfortable in our patterns of normal life. The territory outside those boundaries is dangerous, alien, and in the language of some cultures, 'non-human'. A similar structure underlies nightmares; their meaning is radically egocentric, expressing an individual's deep fears of self-destruction by something monstrous and foreign. Just as nightmares are therapeutic at the moment when the dreamer realizes 'It was only a dream, my waking reality is still safe', so ethnocentric tales reinforce the secure boundaries of cultural identity by temporarily imagining that they have been broken. The constantly recurring crises in this group of tales are cannibalism and human sacrifice. These are the two ultimate violations of Greek *nomos*, and stories which include them show us not so much the ritual practice of savages as the lineaments of a common Greek nightmare, narrated by a traveller who has 'lived to tell the tale'. Considered as actors in popular narrative the Boukoloi inherit the role and manners of the wicked foreigners who with slight modifications had been familiar in Greek narrative from the time of Odysseus. The two important modifications are that earlier stories tend to feature an ogre or monster (Skylla, Kyklops, Bousiris) whereas later stories use brigands and pirates; and that later stories tend to introduce a helpless victim whom the hero rescues from the villains' clutches. A nice illustration of the latter development is the story of Euthymos, which we have in two versions: in Strabo (vi 1.5), and, with an added love-interest, in Pausanias (vi 6.7–11).[113]

Eratosthenes' critique of xenophobic narrative reached positive results insofar as he detected behind the desperado Bousiris real life cowherds. I should like to consider one final piece of evidence which may bring my critique of xenophobic narrative to as successful a conclusion. It concerns the motivation of the Egyptian cowherds in pre-Alexandrian days. Strabo (xvii 1.6) explains that their aggressive policy towards foreign ships near Pharos was, from their point of view, quite sensible and understandable. In a clause summarizing Alexandrian history before Alexander, Strabo says that the part of modern Alexandria over the ship-houses was the original village of the site, before Alexander arrived and saw the possibilities for a magnificent city. 'The

[112] R. Goossens, 'L'Égypte dans l'*Hélène* d'Euripide', *Chronique d'Égypte* x (1935) 243–53 assembles some of the same data that I have used, but interprets fiction as historical fact wherever possible, alleging that Euripides knew of the herdsmen at Rhakotis because Theoklymenos mentions watchers (σκοπούς, 1174) whom the Greeks have eluded. He is tempted to believe that Euripides used these 'historical Egyptian' herdsmen in *I.T.*, though he otherwise omitted them from *Helen* (249 n. 1).

[113] Kallimachos seems to be the earliest source for the version with a rescued maiden (*Dieges.* iv 5–17 Pfeiffer i 103). From earliest times there are stories of maidens being carried off by pirates (*Od.* xv 427, Arist. *fr.* 76 Rose, Hdt. i 1.4, vi 138), only in later times are they also rescued (outside the novels, *cf.* Sositheos' *Lityerses*; the cluster of stories concerning Hymenaios, assembled by R. Schmidt, *de Hymenaeo et Talasio* [Kiel 1886]).

earlier kings of the Egyptians, because they were well-pleased with what they had and in no particular need of imported goods and because they were deeply suspicious of all who sailed to them, especially the Greeks (for they were despoilers and coveters of others' land through a lack of their own), established a guard at this place (the harbour of Pharos) with orders to keep away those who tried to come in; and they gave them the area called Rhakotis to live in, which is now the part of Alexandria lying above the ship-houses, and at that time was a village; the area around the village they gave to *boukoloi*, who were similarly able to prevent outsiders from getting in.'

This version makes the defence against strangers a policy of state, quite precisely established at Pharos-Rhakotis, and principally aimed at Greeks. The cowherds are not the originators of the plan; there is no doubt that here too they are ordinary flock-tenders, working alone or in small groups, rather than a wild bunch of outlaws.

It seems clear that there is a fairly large gap between *the* Boukoloi, who are variously located and 'fictionally' described by Dio and A.T., on the one hand, and the cowherds doubling as defenders located at Rhakotis before Alexandria was founded (and presumably not after). The latter are a specific outcropping of social history just at the boundary between the ordinary realities of ancient life and the system of narrative motifs (*Odyssey*, Euripides, Xen. *Eph.*). Also these *boukoloi* actually tend cattle. The former have more in common with horrific fiction, atrocity propaganda, and real-life terrorism. And they have no visible connection with cattle.

Is there any connection at all? Though the two sets of data are distinct, it is tempting to offer a suggestion which associates them. I will do so with the qualification that it is mere hypothesis. Given that there was a known tradition of Alexandrian pre-history which told of the days when foreigners could not land at Pharos because the Pharaohs had posted a resistance body there, and given that *boukoloi* are always mentioned as playing a part in this native resistance, it might be natural enough for a native Egyptian movement of resistance against foreigners to adopt the name Boukoloi as a conscious identification with the oldest story of their forefathers' proud freedom from non-Egyptian control. The appropriation of the word as a proper name occurred in the later second century A.D.: there is no continuity of an organization or community linking the pre-Alexandrian cowherds and the later resistance fighters, though there is a similarity of ideology and racial identification.

Something happened around 171/2 A.D., and Cassius did *something* to restore the order which the Romans preferred. The rest is fiction and anecdotal history, except for the name: *οἱ καλούμενοι Βουκόλοι*. Dio understands that these people are called Herdsmen, and that that is a proper name; they don't just happen to be herdsmen. Antagonism, conflict and hatred among Greeks, Jews, Romans and Egyptians in Alexandria is well known for this period.[114] Egyptian fellahin had at least this fragment of historical precedent for their show of native solidarity against foreign exploitation. Modern American super-patriots may call themselves Minute Men, meaning to invoke the spirit and ideology of a group whom they know mainly by the myth-history of oral tradition. The Boukoloi might have been such, and the name a slogan reminding them and others that their struggle had a long history. If so, it would be a case of fairly ordinary history being taken as the nominal inspiration for a violent and extraordinary movement, which in turn served as a name on which to hang (in Dio and A.T.) some extraordinary tales of Desperadoes.

But whatever the real truth of the herdless Boukoloi, we are at least clearer now about the kinds of history, anecdote, and fiction represented in our texts. It is in the context of narrative patterns and formulae that we most clearly see the meaning of Lollianos' *Phoinikika*. Though we now have less 'historical' knowledge than we thought we did about the Boukoloi, we have gained a better grasp on the writing and telling of partisan history and thrilling fiction in that exciting period.

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[114] R. MacMullen (n. 99).