

PERSPECTIVE AND IDEAL IN CHARITON'S *CHAIREAS AND CALLIRHOE**

by Jean Alvares
Montclair State University, N.J.

ABSTRACT

Chariton's *Aphrodisias* celebrated Greek, Roman and even Eastern traditions, as the Greek novelists did generally, and his romance shares many elements of Second Sophistic practice; fittingly, the text's opposition of Greek vs. barbarian is rather nuanced; various passages undercut such ethnocentric presumptions by showing Greeks and Asians relying (mistakenly) on traditional views of each other. The basically happy outcomes enjoyed by Artaxerxes and Chaireas, compared to the relatively sad fate of Dionysios, a character who embodies many of the aspirations of Chariton's readers, is connected to their participation in one of two myths of the ideal state; one of the glorious Greek past (Syracuse), the other of Rome as eternal world-state under correctable rulers who followed ideal conceptions of kingship. Ideal presentations of life, love and society are central to romance, but Dionysios' fate underscores the distance between real possibilities and romantic ideals.

G.W. Bowersock has suggested that Antonius Diogenes was a citizen of *Aphrodisias* and that his *Wonders Beyond Thule* belongs to a literary period notable for authors who explored the contrasts between Greek and non-Greek cultures and may even have challenged traditional assumptions of Hellenic superiority.¹ Indeed, the authors of the romances were often non-Greeks (Iamblichus, Heliodorus, Lucian) or from Greek cities in areas with large non-Greek populations, and Greek romance itself, compared to other genres, is less connected to any particular place, audience or set of traditions, and thus mirrors the diversity of cultures and perspectives within the Roman Empire.² Nevertheless, as Kuch and others have noted, the adventures of isolated and vulnerable young Greeks in barbarian lands, and thus the

¹ I am very grateful to the reviewers for their extremely useful comments and suggestions.

² G.W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History. Nero to Julian* (University of California Press 19-94) 29-42. Depictions of non-Greek peoples' reactions to Greek customs date at least to the 'barbarian-lover' Herodotus, but such perspectives became especially visible in the late first century CE.

² D. Konstan, 'The invention of fiction', in Judith Perkins (ed.), *Ancient Fiction and Early Christian Narrative*. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series, No. 6 (Atlanta 1998) 3-17.

confrontation of Greek vs. barbarian, remains a formative element of the Greek romance.³

Aphrodisias, a Carian foundation which developed into a cosmopolitan city that straddled both the Greek and Roman worlds,⁴ was an environment which would encourage an author to find the traditional opposition of Greek vs. barbarian somewhat problematical. Scholars have generally stressed Chariton's⁵ assertions of Greek superiority over the barbarians,⁶ yet, considering *C & C*'s now-acknowledged similarities to works of the Second

³ For a general overview of barbarians in the Greek novel, see A.M. Scarcella, *Romanzo e romanzi. Note di narratologia greca* (Perugia 1993) 103-08; H. Kuch "Die Barbaren" und der antike Roman', *Das Altertum* 35 (1989) 80-86; also 'A study on the margin of the ancient novel: "Barbarians" and Others', in G. Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World* (Leiden 1996) 209-20; A. Scobie, *More Essays on the Ancient Romance and its Heritage* (Meisenheim am Glan 1973) 20-33.

⁴ For Aphrodisias' early history and its close relations with Rome, including privileges secured by a *senatus consultum* in 39 BCE, see K.T. Erim, *Aphrodisias. City of Venus Aphrodite* (London 1986) 1-28, 106-23; J. Reynolds, 'New evidence for the social history of Aphrodisias', in Edmond Frézouls (ed.), *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistique et romaine* (Strasbourg 1987) 111-12; J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London 1982); G.L. Schmeling, *Chariton* (Twayne 1974) 20; D.R. Edwards, *Religion & Power. Pagans, Jews and Christians in the Greek East* (Oxford 1996) 20-22, 33-36. As Edwards notes (34), some Aphrodisian élites claimed Ninus as the city's founder and an Aphrodisian relief shows the Asiatic Ninus dressed as a Roman sacrificing before an altar with an eagle, which Edwards views as an attempt to include Parthia in the description of Aphrodisias' relationships to the world powers.

⁵ I assume Chariton writes in the latter half of the first century CE, before the full advent of Second Sophistic practice. For a good overview of the issue, see K. Plepelits, *Chariton von Aphrodisias. Kallirhoe. Eingeleitet, Übersetzt und Erläutert* (Stuttgart 1976) 4-9; C. Ruiz-Montero, 'Una observacion para la cronologia de Caritón de Afrodiasias', *Estudios Clásicos* 24 (1980) 63-69; B.P. Reardon, 'Chariton', in Schmeling (note 3) 312-17. I am using the Greek text of G.P. Goold, *Chariton. Callirhoe* (Harvard 1995).

⁶ For the opposition of Greeks vs. barbarians, see 2.5.11, 3.2.2, 5.2.6, 6.5.10, 6.7.12, and F. Zimmerman, 'Chariton und die Geschichte', in H.J. Diesner (ed.), *Sozialökonomische Verhältnisse im alten Orient und im klassischen Altertum* (Berlin 1961) 331-32; C. Ruiz-Montero, 'Caritón de Aphrodisias y el mundo real', in P.L. Furiani, A.M. Scarcella (edd.), *Piccolo mondo antico* (Perugia 1989) 138; Bowersock (note 1) 41-42. Although Chariton used history and ethnographical sources for his description of Persia, he often selects his details for their colourfulness, rather than for accuracy; Chariton's Hermocrates (died 407 BCE) is alive during the reign of Artaxerxes (ruled 404-358); however, Xenophon likewise committed similar errors and anachronisms to make his points in the *Cyropaedia*. On Chariton's Persia, see M.F. Baslez, 'De l'histoire au roman: la Perse de Chariton', in M.F. Baslez, P. Hoffman, M. Trédé (edd.), *Le monde du roman grec. Études de littérature ancienne* 4 (Paris 1992) 199-212; on Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and its anachronisms, see M. Reichel, 'Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and the Hellenistic novel', in H. Hofmann (ed.), *GCN* 6 (Groningen 1995) 1-6.

Sophistic,⁷ the true value of this comparison should be re-evaluated. Here I shall discuss several passages that demonstrate conventional and mistaken viewpoints that Greeks and non-Greek have of each other's worlds, factors which undercut confident assertions of Greek superiority and success. I shall then discuss a more fundamental opposition between the two different myths which Dionysios – and Chariton's reader – stand between, two visions of a more ideal state and a more congenial political reality. Likewise, the opposition between those myths and life as the reader knows it (and whose elements within the romance can be recognized) is important, one which Chariton treats with some irony, but which retains a significant resonance with the reader's own social and cultural milieu and its tensions and contradictions.

I first discuss two passages that show Callirhoe and the Great King looking with a certain incomprehension toward the territory of each other's world, each viewing these regions through the lens of limited, conventional and even fantastic beliefs. The first of the two passages describes Callirhoe's reactions as she travels to Babylon (4.7.8-5.1.3-7). For Callirhoe the familiar world-space is defined by the sea and the Greek language.⁸ As far as Syria and Cilicia, Callirhoe can hear Greek being spoken and look upon the sea that leads to the Greek world and to Syracuse. But, about to cross the Euphrates, the starting-point (ἀφετήριον, 5.1.4) of the Great King's Empire,⁹ she becomes homesick. Ionia was at least Greek and near the sea, but now she is being hurled to the other end of the earth from her country (νῦν δὲ ἔξω με τοῦ συνήθους ῥίπτεις ἀέρος καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὄλω διορίζομαι κόσμῳ, 5.1.6). An island woman, she is being shut up in the depths of barbarian lands far from the sea (5.1.3-7).¹⁰ This passage thus tightly connects Greekness, the Greek language and the sea, the highway which connects Miletus with Syracuse and other Greek states.¹¹ For Callirhoe, opposed to

⁷ See C. Ruiz-Montero, 'Chariton von Aphrodisias: ein Überblick', *ANRW* 34.2 (Berlin 1994) 1012-23, 1041-45; A.D. Papanikolaou, *Chariton-Studien* (Göttingen 1973); M.D. Reeve, 'Hiatus in the Greek novelists', *CQ* 21 (1971) 525-28; C. Hernández-Lara, 'Rhetorical aspects of Chariton of Aphrodisias', *GIF* 42 (1989) 267-74; G. Anderson, *Eros Sophistes. Ancient Novelists at Play* (Chico, California 1982) 19-22.

⁸ For further comments on this passage see L. Alexander, 'In journeying often': voyaging in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Greek romance', in C.M. Tuckett (ed.), *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series 116 (Sheffield 1995) 34-35.

⁹ The Euphrates was the border of the Parthian empire in Chariton's time; see Baslez (note 6) 203-04 with bibliography.

¹⁰ Artaxates later likewise calls Chaireas a νησιώτης πένης (6.5.3).

¹¹ The sea is also where the Greeks (and Chaireas) achieve their triumphs over Persia and the East; see 1.11.2, 7.2.3-4, 7.5.8, 7.6.1; also Alexander (note 8) 34.

this familiar expanse is the endless stretch of Asia (ἡπειρός ἐστι μεγάλη, 5.1.3), far from the sight of the sea, whose border is the Euphrates. Her new homes will be Susa and Bactra, two cities that are not so much places as *signs* for the nature of this terrifying space – Susa symbolizing a vast and authoritarian power and Bactra its sheer remoteness. Callirhoe thus kisses her old land farewell as she crosses this definite border into a new kind of physical, linguistic and cultural space.¹²

The second passage illustrates the Great King's perspective as he in turn looks westward. This passage recalls Dionysios' suspicions at 2.4.7-9; there, because the supposed merchant Theron left without collecting the large sum owed him, and because his bailiff Leonas didn't actually *see* Theron's vessel, Dionysios suspects Theron's tale about Callirhoe's origins was a fabrication and suggests that Callirhoe is really a goddess. In turn, at 6.3.5-6, the lovelorn Artaxerxes finds the very fact that Callirhoe names Syracuse as her homeland a sign (σημεῖον, 6.3.6) that she is lying; she obviously does not want to be caught (ἐλεγχθῆναι γὰρ οὐ βούλεται, 6.3.6) by naming a city in his realm (which he would know about), but instead sets her story (μῦθος, 6.3.6) beyond the Ionian sea, the boundary of his known world. As the circumstances of her sale made Callirhoe's status problematical for Dionysios, for the Great King her supposed origin in Syracuse makes *her* status debatable. Thus what is west of the Ionian Sea is as alien to the Great King as what is east of the Euphrates is for Callirhoe, and Syracuse is as famous, strange and legendary a place to him as Bactra and Susa are for Callirhoe, for it is beyond his powers of verification.¹³

The above passages imply that the perceptions of Callirhoe and Artaxerxes, and by extension, of Greeks and barbarians, depend upon the observers' backgrounds, and thus are partial and even parochial. Callirhoe understands the world only in Greek terms such as language and the sea, and since her opinions are based mostly on what the east is not, she must resort to geographical and dramatic clichés. The Great King in turn, unable to grasp the full reality of what is west of Ionia, sees Syracuse as the sort of fabulous place about which lies are easily fabricated.

¹² Note the mythic overtones of the death-journey, which usually involves crossing a body of water, often by ferry. For Callirhoe this journey is clearly a type of death: Βάκτρα μοι καὶ Σοῦσα λοιπὸν οἶκος καὶ τάφος (5.1.7).

¹³ This passage recalls a common technique of ancient fiction writers, of setting implausible events in remote locations, where the plausible is harder to define. Eratosthenes calls the regions in which the adventures of Odysseus take place εὐκατάμεινον (fr. I A 14 = Strabo 1.2.19). See J. S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton 1992) 172-73.

Elsewhere Chariton gives other examples of characters relying (often wrongly) on their cultural prejudices; the episodes among the Greeks are quite revealing: Dionysios thinks Leonas praises Callirhoe's beauty because all he knows are the peasant women (2.1.5). Dionysios, coming to Babylon, is fearful, thinking that πολλοὶ Πάριδες ἐν Πέρσαις (5.2.8). After the trial, Callirhoe wonders if she has seen Chaireas' ghost, λέγουσι γὰρ ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι μάγους (5.9.5). Callirhoe imagines Statira will act like one of the vicious Eastern queens familiar from Greek accounts: φοβερωτέραν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὴν βασιλίδος ζηλοτυπίαν ἢν οὐκ ἤνεγκε Χαίρεας, ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήν. τί ποιήσει καὶ γυνὴ καὶ δέσποινα βάρβαρος; (6.6.5). Note her logic – if Chaireas, a *Greek*, did not endure jealousy, what will a barbarian queen do? Yet in fact Statira, once she meets her, is extremely kind to Callirhoe, although she is acutely aware of her husband's activities.¹⁴ In turn Chariton's omniscient narrator¹⁵ reveals the head eunuch Artaxates' deeply mistaken belief that it will be easy to corrupt Callirhoe: ἔκρινε γὰρ τὴν τρῶξιν ῥαδίαν, ὡς εὐνοῦχος, ὡς δοῦλος, ὡς βάρβαρος. οὐκ ἤδει δὲ φρόνημα Ἑλληνικὸν εὐγενές ... (6.4.10). At 5.7.1 Mithridates makes the usual accusation about lying, tricky Greeks – even as he is preparing an elaborate courtroom ruse himself. Note also how even Queen Statira calls the Greeks 'braggarts' (ἀλαζόνες, 5.2.2);¹⁶ yet Statira finds that Callirhoe is anything but eager to show off her superior beauty.

Thus even while reproducing conventional images of non-Greeks, an assertion of superiority he ultimately favours, Chariton reveals this attitude's limits. The impression that the Greek/barbarian opposition in *C & C* might be less meaningful than it first appears is increased by several plot developments. Most tellingly, at the romance's end the victorious Chaireas has recovered Callirhoe, and the Great King too, although chastened by war, recovers both wife and the lost provinces of his empire, while the fate of Dionysios is less

¹⁴ Callirhoe was expecting Statira to behave like Manto does in Xenophon of Ephesus, or Arsake in Heliodorus. The perceptive reader can detect a certain irony in these misunderstandings based on novelistic conventions, and Morgan's suggestion that Chariton plays with the conventions of the romance is tempting. Most notably, Callirhoe herself, who should have remained chastely loyal to her lover/husband, seems to violate the expectations of the genre by participating in a bigamous marriage; see J.R. Morgan, 'The Greek novel. Toward a sociology of production and reception', in Anton Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (Routledge 1995) 140–41.

¹⁵ On Chariton's narrator, see T. Hägg, *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances. Studies of Chariton, Xenophon Ephesius, and Achilles Tatius* (Stockholm 1971) 292–94.

¹⁶ An attitude, as a perceptive Greek would have known, held by many Romans; see Cicero, *De oratore* 1.4.7; also S.C. Schwartz, *Courtroom Scenes in the Ancient Greek Novels* (Dissertation, Columbia 1998) 93–94.

satisfactory. Miletus is relatively close to Aphrodisias, and Dionysios in many aspects resembles a member of those élites who led the cities of the eastern Roman empire, who spent large sums on public donations to augment their honour, and boasted of their connections to the emperor.¹⁷ Dionysios' estate, worked by swarms of specialized slaves (2.3.3), more closely resembles an estate of the Roman Empire than the fifth century BCE. Chariton's insistence on *paideia* (especially Dionysios')¹⁸ corresponds to the Greek élite's intensified focus on Hellenic language and culture from 50 to 250 CE, which confirmed and preserved Greek identity in the face of social changes and temptations to Romanize.¹⁹ Yet the fate of Dionysios, despite his success and resemblance to many of Chariton's readers, is, to some extent, one of delusion and humiliation.²⁰

As noted above, Chariton's text demonstrates how an individual's preconceptions and myths influence his or her perceptions. While the contrast between Greek and barbarian is not unimportant, I would suggest the happy endings enjoyed by Chaireas, Callirhoe and even Artaxerxes correspond to their existence as components of a larger mythic entity within *C & C*, the image of the more ideal state. Romance, as defined in its larger sense, not only concerns love, but, as Northrop Frye has shown, in its noble heroes and happy endings, also presents visions of an ideal world, and is at its heart utopian. The plot of *C & C* largely fits Frye's description of the 4th phase romance, in which an ideal society is present at the beginning and remains in view (as seen especially in Callirhoe's frequent recollections of Syracuse, Chaireas and Hermocrates), and its excellence and purity must be defended

¹⁷ As did Aphrodisias' own C. Julius Zoilus, whose patron was Augustus; see G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 12-13, 112-21, 140-49; Ruiz-Montero (note 7) 1030; Reynolds (note 4) 156-64. Notice how Dionysios is named benefactor (εὐεργέτης 7.5.15, 8.5.12). For Dionysios as representing a Greek ideal of success and status, see also Ruiz-Montero (note 6) 137.

¹⁸ See 2.1.5, 2.5.11, 3.2.6, 4.7.6, 5.5.1, 5.9.8, 7.2.6, 8.5.10; also Scobie (note 3) 22; Reardon (note 5) 329.

¹⁹ See Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World, AD 50- 250* (Oxford 1996) 27-42.

²⁰ Dionysios is a sympathetic, usually noble—although his complacency in Phocas' destruction of Chaireas' ship (3.9.11) counts against him—and decent figure, as is necessary to remove any tawdriness from Callirhoe's bigamous marriage with him. Yet, despite his military and political successes, Dionysios is tricked by Callirhoe into rearing a child he wrongly believes his own and to remaining unwed (8.4.5) while he comforts himself with Callirhoe's mere image and a child whom he must one day lose (8.5.13-15). Ruiz-Montero (note 7) 1019-20 sees Dionysios as a 'sacrifice to tragic irony' and R. Hunter, 'History and historicity in the romance of Chariton', *ANRW* 34.2 (Berlin 19-94) 1062-71, writes Dionysios '... has to settle for the Persian happiness of great power (8.5.12) rather than the Greek ideal of *homonoia* ...'

and continued, especially in the persons of Chaireas and Callirhoe.²¹ Likewise, Frederic Jameson and Ernst Bloch make a convincing case for the persistent literary expression of our imaginings of a better world, if only ironically and as part of the text's 'political unconscious.'²²

In *C & C* the first representation of an ideal society is located in the near-perfect romantic pair appearing in the context of a politically and erotically idealized Syracuse.²³ Indeed, Chariton's romance can be read in part as an alternative history, where, as a result of the dedication of Chaireas, Callirhoe and the Syracusans to Aphrodite and Love, Syracuse enjoys the successes of a model state.²⁴ Note too how the romance's embodiments of Greek excellence, Chaireas and Callirhoe, due to their perfect beauty and melodramatic behaviour, are particularly suited to the sort of ideal $\mu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ to which Artaxerxes refers (6.3.5-6).²⁵ The second version involves an archetypal figure of the near-ideal ruler (such as Lycurgus, Solomon or More's King Utopus), a figure who survives in discussions of ideal kingship in Stoic/Cynic circles in Chariton's

²¹ See especially N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton 1957) 198-203; R.D. Denham, *Northrop Frye and Critical Method* (Pennsylvania State University Press 1978) 80-82.

²² See especially E. Bloch, *The Principle of Hope* (in 3 volumes), transl. by Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice & Paul Knight (MIT Press 1995); also *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature: Selected Essays*, transl. by Jack Zipes and Frank Mecklenburg (MIT Press 1988); F. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca 1981).

²³ Syracuse had long been idealized for its wealth and repulsion of the Athenian attack; see A. Billault, 'De l'histoire au roman: Hermocrate de Syracuse', *REG* 102 (1989) 540-48; J. Bompaire, 'Le décor sicilien dans le roman grec et dans la littérature contemporaine', *REG* 90 (1977) 55-68. Swain (note 19) 79-100 stresses the constant (and ideologically charged) rewriting and idealization of Greek history by authors and rhetoricians of this period as a way of asserting Greek identity and values, a process that Chariton also participates in.

²⁴ To sum up Syracuse's ideal qualities: militarily, it was able to defeat Athens' aggression and has gained the Great King's respect (2.6.3, 8.8.10); it is a democracy guided by a superlative leader always careful to obey the law (3.4.15) and to respect the wishes of his fellow-citizens (1.1.11), who also meaningfully participate in government. Its judicial processes acquit a self-condemning innocent (Chaireas) and convict a dissembling rogue (Theron). The social classes show considerable unity, especially in efforts to recover Callirhoe (3.3.8, 3.4.17). Chaireas, having reproduced the successes of Alexander, Xenophon and the Athenians at Salamis, returns to Syracuse with a retinue of Aradians, Egyptians, Cypriots and Doric Greeks, who constitute a kind of international state in microcosm, one whose members participate willingly, as opposed to Persian's subjects, who must be compelled to obey. They are integrated into Syracuse, and all are provided for; even the Egyptians are given land to farm by Hermocrates (8.8.12-13); for more details, see Jean Alvares, 'Chariton's erotic history', *AJP* 118 (1997) 613-29; also *The Journey of Observation in Chariton's Chaireas and Callirhoe* (Dissertation, Austin 1993).

²⁵ Indeed, in most of the romances there is a sense that the characters' lives are or will become a $\mu\theta\omicron\varsigma$. For example, in *Daphnis and Chloe* Pan informs the commander of a raiding expedition

era, and whose characteristics Artaxerxes to a certain extent embodies.²⁶ Panegyric and other propaganda, such as Aelius Aristides' *Roman Oration*,²⁷ frequently promulgated this view of the emperors, one often linked to another mythic image cultivated by Rome, that of the Roman *imperium* as a destined world-state.²⁸ While Artaxerxes does give in to injustice under Eros' compulsions, notice that he eventually reforms, as indicated by his sacrifice to warlike Hercules (8.5.2), his eager embrace of Statira (8.5.5), and his willing award of Callirhoe to Dionysios (7.5.15), plus the recovery of his lost territories. Thus the romance's final scenes stress the permanence of empire, and the ability of its leaders to improve, details which the plot did not logically demand, but which correspond nicely to a more ideal myth of empire.

The intermediate situation of Dionysios, whose home is placed between Syracuse and Persia, who embodies Greek *paideia* but becomes a benefactor of the royal house and friend to the Great King, is also emblematic of the set of the political choices and ideals that Chariton's Greek reader was presented with.²⁹ The first set involves the glories (and authority) of the romantic Greek past, as seen especially in the literature and other artistic productions of the Second Sophistic, where Greek traditions were revived and the Roman present

that he has abducted a maiden from whom Eros wishes to make a μῦθος (2.27.2). In Achilles Tatius, Clitophon, about to narrate his adventures, likens his story to μῦθοι (1.2.2). See J.R. Morgan, 'Make-believe and make believe: the fictionality of the Greek novels', in C. Gill & T.P. Wiseman (edd.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World* (Austin 1993) 215-19.

²⁶ Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* is a novel-like work describing the founding of Persia by a Cyrus who is a paradigm for the ideal ruler; Xenophon was a model for romance writers, several of whom used Xenophon as their *nom de plume*; see Bodil Due, 'Xenophon of Athens: the *Cyropaedia*', in Schmeling (note 3) 588-90; Reichel (note 6) 6-7. The Hellenistic writers Euhemerus and Iambulus produced novel-like works describing utopian states. Several writers of the Second Sophistic depicted ideal Greek states set in the past or in remote areas; see Swain (note 19) 72-87. Around *C & C*'s period appeared Pliny's *Panegyric* to Trajan and Dio of Prusa's works on the ideal Stoic-Cynic monarch. These writers stressed the qualities of moderation, self-control, persuasion rather than force, obedience to law, mercy, and the quest for the common good. Artaxerxes is called χρηστός (5.9.3), and his subjects praise his σωφροσύνη and δικαιοσύνη (5.4.8), other qualities of the ideal king; see Ruiz-Montero (note 6) 139-41; J. Helms, *Character Portrayal in the Romance of Chariton* (The Hague 1966) 80-87.

²⁷ See J.H. Oliver, 'The ruling power', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n.s. 43.4 (1953) 871-1003; L. Pernot, *Les discours siciliens d'Aelius Aristides. Étude littéraire et paléographique. Édition et traduction* (New York 1981); also Swain (note 19) 274-84.

²⁸ For expressions of the Roman notion of their destiny to rule the world, see especially Claude Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 1991); Romm (note 13) 121-38.

²⁹ Edwards (note 4) 19-24, 33-36, 54-61 details how Aphrodisians used their Aphrodite, as universal goddess equated with Roman Venus, as a way of defining (and augmenting) their

avoided;³⁰ the second concerns not only the grandly mythical view of the Roman Empire mentioned above, but the real possibility of an improved Roman present for the reader and his community.³¹ As Edwards and Swain in particular have detailed, complex ideological manoeuvres ensued among the Greek élites to enable them to augment their power within the Roman *imperium*, while at the same time reasserting the authority of Greek traditions and culture, and *C & C* also reflects this process. In the relative lack of success and delusion of Dionysios, I do not suggest that Chariton intends a savage indictment of his fellows' illusory hopes as a Lucian might (see, for example, in *On Salaried Posts*); rather, his work is flavoured with an irony which arises from the distance between the ideal imagined and pursued and reality compromised with. This irony begins with the romance's first lines, which, as often noted, recall famous Greek historians who told of monumental deeds.³² Of course, Chariton will tell only a love story, but one (as the reader soon sees) which also details a more satisfying history—if it were only true!

Thus, while the distinction between Greek and barbarian exists within *C & C*, it is problematized by the revelation of its inaccuracy and dependence upon myths and prejudices. More important for a full appreciation of *C & C* is to observe the alternation between the different visions of the ideal state that Syracuse and Persian Babylon and its King embody, and how these myths correspond to then-pervasive ideals of the Greek past and the Roman present and future, as well as the greater division between those ideals and political and social reality of the reader's experience. Chariton gives these myths of ideal states, leaders and love just enough flesh to stir the imagination of the reader, who, like Dionysios, was loyal to notions of Greek *paideia*

position within the Roman 'web of power'; see also Swain (note 19) 66-72.

³⁰ See E.L. Bowie, 'Greeks and their past in the Second Sophistic', *Past and Present* 46 (1970) 3-41; B.A. Van Groningen, 'General literary tendencies in the second century A.D.', *Mnemosyne* 19 (1965) 41-56; see also Swain (note 19) 65-100.

³¹ Since the Flavians, increasing opportunities had existed for Greeks to hold powerful positions in imperial administration. Cities also could hope to gain imperial favour (as Aphrodisias did under Octavian, as Athens did under Hadrian), hopes evident in their embassies and the rhetoric of the ambassadors; see Edwards (note 4) 15-18.

³² See Plepelits (note 5) 11-12; Zimmerman (note 6) 329-30; C.-W. Müller, 'Chariton von Aphrodisias und die Theorie des Romans in der Antike', *Antike und Abendland* 22 (1976) 131-34. For further interpretive problems raised by this introduction, and its similarities to Hellenistic historiography, see Hunter (note 20) 1067-71; W. Bartsch, *Der Chariton Roman und die Historiographie* (Dissertation, Leipzig 1934); *C & C*, along with the *Metiochos and Parthenope*

(and the history and traditions it evoked) while also often eager for concrete measures of success and status as a subject within a non-Greek empire. Yet the fate of Chariton's Dionysios hints at the inability to fully live those ideal myths outside of enjoyment of romance.³³

Romance and the *Ninus Romance*, are often viewed as a historical novel; see especially T. Hägg, 'Callirhoe and Parthenope. The beginnings of the historical novel', *CA* 6 (1987) 184-204; also Hunter (note 20) 1083-84

³³ For an even stronger view of the distance between the ideal myth and the harsh reality of the readers' lives, see Morgan (note 14) 147.

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