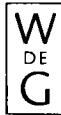


James N. O'Sullivan  
Xenophon of Ephesus



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# Xenophon of Ephesus

His Compositional Technique  
and  
The Birth of the Novel

by  
James N. O'Sullivan

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1995

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**WALTER AREND**  
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**MILMAN PARRY**  
**in memoriam**



## Preface

My title with its reference to Xenophon's own compositional technique will doubtless surprise many since it is so widely held that the transmitted text of the *Ephesiaca* is only an epitome of a much longer original. But the reader who follows me fully will believe at the end that the text we have is composed in a very noteworthy manner that has hitherto scarcely been observed (chapter III below) and is best explained as due to a background of oral story-telling (chapter IV); that it has neither been epitomized (V1) nor extensively interpolated in honour of the Sun-god (V2); that the *Ephesiaca*, whatever its own relationship to writing, represents the background technique of the novel far more authentically than Chariton and that Xenophon should accordingly be seen as the earlier author (VI; see also I 1 and n. 48 pp. 169f.). The kernel of the book is a description of Xenophon's technique that will stand even if some or all of the arguments I base on it are set aside. I have also taken care to keep those arguments separate from and independent of one another.

For more than a century after the publication of Erwin Rohde's magisterial *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (1876) enquiry into the ancient novel was dominated by the question of its origin. In the past few years a certain despondency has set in and there has been a turning away from this mystery. Lately two Oxford scholars have admonished us against the pursuit of the novel's origins as 'an insoluble and vain enquiry';<sup>1</sup> the future is to belong largely to theories of narrative and the like. I hope nonetheless that knowing a little more about how the novel came to be and its nature and chronology will not be too great an impediment to modern literary approaches.

I use the words 'novel' and 'romance' without distinction, and in particular 'romance' here carries no implication that the *Ephesiaca* and

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<sup>1</sup> E. L. Bowie and S. J. Harrison, "The romance of the novel", *JRS* 83 (1993) 159–78 (172f.)

its companions are not novels,<sup>2</sup> the earliest examples of what has come to establish itself as the dominant literary form.<sup>3</sup> Historians of prose fiction have tended to give to some arbitrarily chosen development – of which the chameleon novel, always responsive to the *Zeitgeist* and receptive of modification, has many to show – the status of first invention.

The book may be expected to hold something for people working in a number of areas: students of the history of extended prose fiction and those concerned with literature of oral background in various languages and cultures; and it will no doubt be of particular interest to Homeric scholars to have an extensively formulaic work in Greek prose. The old wisdom of the novel as successor to the epic receives a new dimension. I should also like to contribute to a modification of attitude on ancient literary culture. There is a tendency to see things in purely literary terms: if an author has a variant form of a myth or story, he must have it from another author or have invented it himself. But, however justified this approach is in many instances, it is very probable that there was constant interaction between written literature – itself usually read aloud – and oral story-telling and that there was in popular tradition a veritable kaleidoscope of motifs and motif-complexes available to anyone

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<sup>2</sup> They satisfy in full, e.g., the definition of the novel in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago etc. <sup>5</sup>1974, repr. 1988; vol. 8 s.v. novel), a definition certainly not made primarily to fit them: 'an invented prose narrative of considerable length and a certain complexity that deals imaginatively with human experience usually through a connected sequence of events involving a group of persons in a specific setting'.

<sup>3</sup> See further e.g.: S. L. Wolff, *The Greek romances in Elizabethan prose fiction*, New York 1912; P. Turner, "Novels, ancient and modern", *Novel* 2 (1968) 15–24; P. G. Walsh, *The Roman novel* (Cambridge 1970) 224–43; B. P. Reardon, *Courants littéraires grecs des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles après J.-C.* (Paris 1971) 332 with n. 53; A. Heiserman, *The novel before the novel*, Chicago and London 1977; K. Plepelits, *Achilleus Tatios. Leukippe und Kleitophon*, eing., übers. und erl. von K. P. (Stuttgart 1980) 48ff. (esp. 53–6, 58–60); G. Schmeling, *Xenophon of Ephesus* (Boston 1980) 148ff.; G. N. Sandy, *Heliodorus* (Boston 1982) 97ff.; T. Hägg, *The novel in antiquity* (Oxford [Blackwell] 1983) viif., 1–5, 192ff. (with bibliography on 249f.); O. Schönberger, *Longos. Hirtengeschichten von Daphnis und Chloe*. Griechisch und deutsch von O. S. (Darmstadt <sup>4</sup>1989) 45ff.; J. Tatum (ed.), *The search for the ancient novel*, Baltimore and London 1994 (esp. the essays by D. de Armas Wilson [88–100] and M. A. Doody [117–31]).

who wanted to draw on it (cf. p. 96 below).<sup>4</sup>

The book was conceived in 1977 in the course of work on textual problems in the *Ephesiaca*. It was written, more or less as it is today, except for the pages on the irenarch and the occasional footnote, in 1978–80 in Göttingen, where I was supported by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, and in Vandœuvres at the Fondation Hardt, where chapter VI on Xenophon and Chariton received its final form in the summer of 1980. I am very conscious of my debt to the Fondation Hardt and particularly to the Humboldt Stiftung, which also provided important assistance in connection with publication.

That the book has been allowed to mature in my files for fourteen years is due to a web of circumstance fit more for a life-story than for a preface. But a full-time job as Homeric lexicographer will go some way towards explaining it to all but the most unsympathetically chalciferous.

I am deeply grateful to the friends and colleagues who have given me their help and advice. William Beck, Winfried Bühler and Volker Langholf read the complete typescript and discussed it with me to my profit. In this regard I am also indebted to Hermann Grensemann and Reinhold Merkelbach.

After years of intermittent typing of a manuscript no one else could read I was overtaken at the post by the demands of modern publishing. Barbara Schönefeld produced with admirable patience and skill the laser print-out required by the publisher. In this connection I must also thank S. R. van der Mije for help with particular problems of presentation. William Beck took upon him the real pains of proof-reading this book and saved me from many an oversight. My wife, Susan, has not only lived with the book – manuscript, typescript, print-out – for over a decade, but also shared in correcting the proofs.

I am very pleased to have a second book in this splendid series and most grateful to its editors, especially to Winfried Bühler: without his

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<sup>4</sup> Compare what John Speirs says of oral and written culture in medieval England: 'There was, of course, a long phase of both oral and written traditions, existing side by side. These traditions were certainly not isolated from one another; on the contrary, they drew freely from each other's repertory. Thus tales that were told were made into written tradition and later taken back again into the stream of oral recital and re-shaping' (*The Pelican guide to English literature* vol. I, ed. Boris Ford [Harmondsworth 1959] 38f.).

friendly encouragement over the years the birth of 'the birth of the novel' would have been even slower and more painful.

I dedicate my book to the memory of three scholars whose work, though not on the Greek novel, provided in large part the foundation of my own. Here I should also like to mention Fr. William Meany who made me aware early in my undergraduate days of the importance of Milman Parry's contribution to the understanding of Homer.

Hamburg, September 1994

James N. O'Sullivan

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## I. Preliminary

### 1. *The author and his date*

It is very probable that the author of the *Ephesiaca* was neither Xenophon nor Ephesian. Apart from the novel itself our only source of information about him is a short notice in the *Suda* going back to the historian Hesychius of Miletus (5th/6th century A.D.):<sup>1</sup>

Ξενοφῶν, Ἐφέσιος, ἱστορικός. Ἐφεσιακά· ἔστι δὲ ἐρωτικά βιβλία ἰ' περὶ Ἀβροκόμου καὶ Ἀνθίας· καὶ Περὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἐφεσίων· καὶ ἄλλα.

This is sandwiched between notices of two other novelists called Xenophon, Ξενοφῶν Ἀντιοχεύς, author of Βαβυλωνιακά, and Ξενοφῶν Κύπριος, who produced Κυπριακά. The usual view taken is that the name 'Xenophon' was used with some frequency as a pseudonym by authors of ἐρωτικά, probably to invite comparison in style and / or subject-matter with the famous historian Xenophon of Athens,<sup>2</sup> in whose *Cyropaedia* the love-story of Pantheia and Abradatas is told; or it might be that the name came to be attached to novels of unknown authorship which were felt to have some affinity to the works of the historian. But there is another possibility, which has nothing, at least directly, to do with Xenophon of Athens. Let us suppose that there was a collection of erotic romances – such as we in fact find in the *codex unicus* of the *Ephesiaca* – one of which bore an author's name, say '*Babyloniaca* by Xenophon of Antioch', whereas the others, *Ephesiaca* and *Cypriaca*, works of a very similar character, were of unknown authorship. If one wanted to provide

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<sup>1</sup> *Suidae lexicon* ed. A. Adler (Leipzig 1928-38, repr. Stuttgart 1967-71) III 495. For a discussion of the points in the *Suda* entry, with reference to earlier literature, see H. Gärtner in *RE IX A,2* (1967) 2057-2059. Though my view of the *Ephesiaca* differs in most respects very widely from Gärtner's, it must be said that his *RE* article on Xenophon von Ephesos (*loc.cit.* 2055-2089) is in the presentation of relevant material a model of its kind and a blessing to anyone undertaking work on the *Ephesiaca*.

<sup>2</sup> Gärtner (n. 1 above) 2058.

the anonymous works with authors and at the same time distinguish those authors from each other, one could readily do this with the labels 'Xenophon of Ephesus' and 'Xenophon of Cyprus'. The relative frequency of the name 'Xenophon' among novel-writers<sup>3</sup> suggests in itself that the name passed somehow from novelist to novelist and not always directly from Xenophon of Athens to novelist; and the idea of a conspiracy of novelists to take the same name I find unattractive. In any case, anyone drawn to the thesis put forward in chapter IV below will be correspondingly reluctant to see Xenophon of Ephesus in a close context of literary heritage. That 'Xenophon' was Ephesian we find only in the *Suda*. He shows no very personal knowledge of Ephesus, in which the early part of his novel is set and to which the lovers return at the end, nor does the description of the Artemis-procession in Book I (chap. 2f.) seem to rest on personal observation. It seems that 'Εφέσιος like Κύπριος in the case of the author of the *Κυπριακά*, has been extracted by someone from the title of the romance.<sup>4</sup> About the only thing that one can deduce from the novel with fair certainty about Xenophon's provenance is that he did not come from Egypt: otherwise the map of Egypt on which his characters move (see especially Book IV) would not be so bizarre.<sup>5</sup>

That this shadowy 'Xenophon of Ephesus' was the author also of a separate work 'On the city of the Ephesians' must be regarded with the utmost scepticism. If *περὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἐφεσίων* is not to be taken as referring – with improbable inaccuracy – to the content of the *Ephesiaca* and a *Περὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἐφεσίων* really existed, then there is scant likelihood, as will, I hope, become clearer in the course of this book, that its attribution to the author of the *Ephesiaca* (whom I shall henceforth call simply Xenophon) should be seen as anything but a misattribution. The statement that the romance of Habrocomes and Antheia contained ten books has caused immense trouble and I shall return to it later.<sup>6</sup>

Xenophon's name and place of origin are of only very mild interest compared with the question of his date and so of his place in the history

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<sup>3</sup> For a possible fourth novelist with the name see Rohde 346 n. 1 (= <sup>3</sup>1914, 371f. n. 1) and M. D. Reeve, *CQ* 21 (1971) 531 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Gärtner (n. 1 above) 2058f.

<sup>5</sup> H. Henne, 'La géographie de l'Égypte dans Xénophon d'Éphèse', *Rev. d'hist. de la philos. et d'hist. gén. de la civil.* n.s. 4 (1936) 97ff.; J. Schwartz, *AC* 54 (1985) 197–203 (200–203).

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 10 and 134f. below.

of the novel. It is generally maintained that we have evidence to show that he was post-Augustan and must in fact be dated at least as late as the first half of the second century A.D. The case, which has been set out repeatedly,<sup>7</sup> rests on references in the *Ephesiaca* to the positions held by two of the characters, the one in Egypt, the other in Cilicia.<sup>8</sup> In my judgement these references fall short of providing the firm chronological footholds that they have usually been regarded as providing. My purpose in what follows here is the limited one of showing that the basis on which Xenophon is generally dated as late as the second century A.D. is not secure and that it does not constitute a fatal obstacle to an earlier dating, if other considerations make an earlier dating seem probable. I shall return to the question of date towards the end of this book,<sup>9</sup> when I have provided reasons for seeing the *Ephesiaca* as representing the earliest stage of the novel.

First to Egypt. At one point in the story the hero, Habrocomes, accused of murder, is brought before τῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τότε ἄρχοντι (3.12.6); this person is mentioned seven more times, six times as ὁ ἄρχων τῆς Αἰγύπτου<sup>10</sup> and once as τὸν διοικοῦντα τὴν Αἴγυπτον (4.2.7). This man was – so the general understanding – the Prefect of Egypt, holder of an office created by Augustus in 30 B.C., and so Xenophon must be dated to some time after that. But ὁ ἄρχων τῆς Αἰγύπτου is merely ordinary Greek for ‘the ruler of Egypt’ without any necessary more specific, technical connotations, and τῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τότε ἄρχοντι, ‘the man who ruled Egypt at that time’ (3.12.6, the first reference to him), may well be felt even to have something *märchenhaft* about it, a once-upon-a-timeness. τὸν διοικοῦντα (4.2.7) is here synonymous with τὸν ἄρχοντα.<sup>11</sup> The *praefectus Aegypti*, who in fact ruled Egypt, was naturally sometimes referred to as ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχων (e.g. Dio Cassius 53.29.3), but this cannot be regarded as a technical title specific to him any more than e.g. the words ἡγεμῶν, ἡγεμονεύων, also used of

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Locella's edition (1796) VIIIff.; Peerlkamp's edition (1818) Vf.; Rohde 388f. (= <sup>3</sup>1914, 416f.); Haight 40; Gärtner 2086.

<sup>8</sup> Other proposed dating criteria (e.g. the use of the older name Μάζακον for Καισάρεια) have already been recognized as inconclusive: Gärtner (n. 1 above) 2086f.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 168–70 below.

<sup>10</sup> 4.2.1; 4.2.9; 4.4.1; 4.4.2; 5.3.1; 5.5.2, the case being varied as required.

<sup>11</sup> See *LSJ* s.v. διοικέω IIa and b; the verb carries no necessary implication that its subject is a deputy, subordinate administrator *vel sim*.

him, can be confined to the sense 'Prefect of Egypt'.<sup>12</sup> The Romans and their provincial governors had not been heard of when Plato wrote (of a time before even the Persian empire had been founded) εἶναι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιμένα παρὰ τῷ τότε Λυδίας ἄρχοντι ('... the then king of Lydia': *R.* II 359d).<sup>13</sup> This Egyptian ruler, then, does not provide us with firm grounds for dating Xenophon in or later than the reign of Augustus. Since nothing that emerges in the course of this book makes it necessary to put the *Ephesiaca* much before about 50 A.D., it is clear that this issue is in any case of no decisive importance.

Now to Cilicia and the office of irenarch.<sup>14</sup> Perilaus, who at the head of a band of men rescues Antheia from brigands just as they are about to sacrifice her to Ares, is introduced as ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ προεστώς (2.13.3) and later we learn that he ἄρχειν ἐχειροτονήθη τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ (3.9.5). From this it has been inferred that Perilaus was an official of the Roman empire, an irenarch, holder of an office the earliest datable mention of which is in a Carian inscription of 116 or 117 A.D.,<sup>15</sup> and that the *Ephesiaca* was therefore written after that date. This is not conclusive. The kind of argument which assumes that the earliest datable instance of a phenomenon is in fact older than any instance not firmly dated is by its nature insufficient and make-

<sup>12</sup> On the various Greek expressions used for the *praefectus Aegypti* see D. Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis solemnibus in Graecam linguam conversis* (Leipzig 1905) 104f.; A. Stein, *Die Praefekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bern 1950) 179f.; H.J. Mason, *Greek terms for Roman institutions* (Toronto 1974) 146.

<sup>13</sup> For other uses of ἄρχω of royal (*vel sim.*) power see e.g. the passages referred to in J.E. Powell, *A lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge 1938) s.v. ἄρχω AI 1–3; Pl. *Cra.* 396a, *Grg.* 470d, *Plt.* 297e, *Ti.* 25b; and from later times e.g. Plu. *Demetr.* 911b, *Mor.* 174, 181c; Ach. *Tat.* 1.2.1.

<sup>14</sup> I am concerned with the irenarchy here only in so far as it is relevant to the question of Xenophon's date. Those interested in irenarchs in general will find further information in the works cited in the notes. For bibliographical guidance I am much obliged to Prof. Peter Herrmann.

<sup>15</sup> See *BCH* 9 (1885) 347; O. Hirschfeld, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1891, 868 n. 119 (= *Kleine Schriften* [Berlin 1913] 602 n. 1). On irenarchs in general see Hirschfeld 868ff. (= *Kl. Schr.* 602ff.), with n. 22 below; Schultheß, *RE Suppl.* III (1918) 419ff.; C. Daremberg - E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris 1877–1918) III 572f.; D. Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 647 with n. 46 (pp. 1514f.).

shift;<sup>16</sup> and the evidence available to us, fragmentary as it is,<sup>17</sup> provides no secure basis for a definite statement that the irenarch, and with him the *Ephesiaca*, must be dated no earlier than the end of Trajan's reign.<sup>18</sup>

Besides, there are some considerations that make it reasonable to suppose – in company with scholars who have had a particular interest in these questions<sup>19</sup> – the existence of irenarchs (officials concentrated in Asia Minor and Egypt) at a much earlier time.

Firstly, the Carian inscription itself does not give the impression of referring to a newly instituted office. I give its text in full:<sup>20</sup>

Ἀὐτοκράτορι Νέρβα Τραϊανῶ  
 Ἄριστῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Γερμανι-  
 κῶ Δακικῶ Παρθικῶ  
 καὶ τῶ δήμῳ τῶ Σεβαστοπο-  
 λειτῶν Π. Στάτιος Ἑρμᾶς ἀγο-  
 ρανομήσας καὶ παραφυλάξας  
 καὶ τειμηθεὶς ἔτι τε ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς στρώσεως τῆς ἐξέξεδ-  
 δρας τῆς ἐν τῶ τετραστυ-  
 λῳ τοῦ γυμνασίου τειμαῖς  
 εἰρηναρχικαῖς, πάλιν δὲ ὑ-  
 πὲρ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς Νεί-  
 κης ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τειμηθεὶς  
 τειμαῖς διὰ νυκτὸς στρατη-  
 γικαῖς καὶ ἀποδοχεὺς γε-  
 νάμενος γ' (= τρίς) (θηναρίων) μυ(ρίων) ας' καὶ ἀργυ-

<sup>16</sup> The historian of antiquity is often forced by the nature of the available evidence to resort to such argument, and to do so is, of course, quite legitimate; but the provisional character of the resulting conclusions must always be kept in mind.

<sup>17</sup> It is salutary to think, e.g., of the large chronological gaps in the evidence for the Egyptian ἀρχιφύλαξ (see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* [Leipzig 1917] 268) and for the διωγμῆται (see below).

<sup>18</sup> Gärtner (n. 1 above, 2086) expresses the appropriate proviso with regard to the dating of the irenarchy: '... falls nicht das Amt in Wahrheit schon früher eingerichtet wurde, als die Zeugnisse bislang erkennen lassen.'

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Hirschfeld (n. 15 above) 868 n. 19 (= *Kl. Schr.* 602 n. 1); Schultheß, *RE Suppl.* III (1918) 419, 421.

<sup>20</sup> From L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 339 (inscription reproduced as Plate XXV.1) ≡ *La Carie* II (Paris 1954) 317.

ροταμίας (δηναρίων) ,δ', καθώς και  
 διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων  
 περιέχει.

The word εἰρηνάρχης/ος does not occur in the inscription. Hermas, something of a collector of offices and honours, was given 'irenarchic honours' for paving part of the colonnade of the local gymnasium. This apparently honorary status,<sup>21</sup> conferred for a service quite unrelated to keeping the peace, and the manner of reference to it naturally presuppose that the office itself was already in existence and well known; and the honour may have been conferred some considerable time before the date of the inscription.

Secondly, the impression gained from the inscription is supported by the implication in Aristides, *Sacred Tales* 4.73 that the irenarchy was an institution of long standing at Smyrna before there was even any hope that Hadriani, the orator's home place, would become a πόλις, a status granted it in 123 A.D.: παριδῶν καὶ ἀτιμάσας ἅπαντα τὰ πεμφθέντα ὀνόματα (put forward by the people of Hadriani for the irenarchy<sup>22</sup> of 153 A.D.) προῦκρινεν (sc. C. Julius Severus, proconsul of Asia 152–153 A.D.) ἄρχειν ἐμέ, οὐκ ἐνθυμηθεῖς . . . ὅτι τῇ Σμύρνῃ προσήκει (προσηκον Wilamowitz) πολλοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, πρὶν ἐκεῖνοις (sc. the people of Hadriani) γενέσθαι πόλεως ἐλπίδας.<sup>23</sup>

Thirdly, the irenarch was closely associated with other, lesser police-

<sup>21</sup> At least the kind of conferment involved here seems very different from the mode of appointment described by Aristides (*Sacred Tales* 4.71ff., with reference to 153 A.D.) and the office is seen as a desired honour, not as a troublesome λειτουργία.

<sup>22</sup> What is in question is the local irenarchy of Hadriani. Hirschfeld (n. 15 above) 870 n.3 (= *Kl. Schr.* 604 n. 1) is wrong to take Aristides as implying, against the rest of the evidence, that there was only one irenarch for the whole of Asia: ἀπάντων in *Sacred Tales* 4.72 refers only to the ten nominees for the irenarchy of each city.

<sup>23</sup> See further C.A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam 1968) 81ff. Whatever the exact wording of the original, the five years between Aristides' birth in 118 and the granting of polis-status to Hadriani in 123 A.D. will hardly accommodate the time-span suggested by πολλοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, πρὶν ἐκεῖνοις γενέσθαι πόλεως ἐλπίδας, and there is certainly no hint that the irenarchy was a new institution when Aristides, whose father was already a citizen of Smyrna (see Wilamowitz, *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.* [philos.-hist. Klasse] 1925, 334), was born.

men, the διωγμίται,<sup>24</sup> who were under his command, and we know from an inscription that these 'pursuit police' existed at least as early as the reign of Tiberius.<sup>25</sup> They were poorly armed<sup>26</sup> and were regularly employed, just like Perilaus' men in Xenophon, to pursue brigands.<sup>27</sup> Of the διωγμίται who went out to arrest Polycarp the Martyr in the reign of Antoninus Pius we read ἐξήλθον διωγμίται καὶ ἵππεις μετὰ τῶν συνηθῶν αὐτοῖς ὄπλων, ὡς ἐπὶ ληστῶν τρέχοντες,<sup>28</sup> and with this one should compare the words used earlier, in Luke's Gospel (22.52), of those who arrested Christ when Tiberius was Emperor: ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξεληλύθατε μετὰ μαχαίρων καὶ ξύλων.<sup>29</sup> Scholars who have concerned themselves specially with διωγμίται and other ancient police forces, without any concern for dating Xenophon, are of the opinion that the διωγμίται 'stammen bereits aus der Organisation der hellenistischen Reiche.'<sup>30</sup> They may be compared with the φυλακίται,<sup>31</sup> the local forces of security police in Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>32</sup> We can be sure that wherever and whenever διωγμίται or comparable policemen were to be found there was someone in charge of them who could properly be described as ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης προεστώς / ἄρχων.

<sup>24</sup> On διωγμίται see P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844. Pt. 3, Inscriptions* (Paris 1870) 992; Fiebigler, *RE* V 1 (1903) 784; L. Robert, *BCH* 52 (1928) 409 (further literature *ibid.* n. 2) and *Ét. anatol.* (n. 20 above) 103 n. 2; Magie (n. 15 above); C. P. Jones, *Ill. Class. Stud.* 12 (1987) 179f.

<sup>25</sup> *CIL* III 14165<sup>14</sup>. See A. von Domaszewski, *RhM* 67 (1912) 151f. and Schultheß, *RE Suppl.* III (1918) 421 (but the διωγμίται were not horse-soldiers).

<sup>26</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus (27.9.6) speaks of them as *semiermes* and Marcus Aurelius had to arm them when he put them into action against the Marcomanni (*HA, Vita Marci* 21.7; see J. Schwendemann, *Der historische Wert der Vita Marci bei den Scriptoribus Historiae Augustae* [Heidelberg 1923] 72).

<sup>27</sup> E.g. *Mart. Polyc.* 7.1; *Amm. Marc.* 27.9.6. See Hirschfeld (n. 15 above) 872f. (= *Kl. Schr.* 606f.).

<sup>28</sup> *Mart. Polyc.* 7.1.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Hirschfeld (n. 15 above) 873 (= *Kl. Schr.* 607).

<sup>30</sup> So von Domaszewski (n. 25 above) 152; cf. Schultheß (n. 25 above) 421.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Schultheß (n. 25 above) 419. On φυλακίται Kießling, *RE* XX 1 (1941) 987f.; Hirschfeld, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1892, 817 (= *Kl. Schr.* 615); also *LSJ* s.v. φυλακίτης, F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griech. Papyrusurkunden* III (Berlin 1931) 178f. s.v. φυλακίτης.

<sup>32</sup> It is of interest here that the only mention of these police outside Egypt comes from Asia Minor (Phrygia): in an inscription (*OGI* 238) from the reign of Antiochus III of Syria (223–187 B.C.) we find οἱ ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἐριζαν ὑπαρχία φυλακίται. Cf. also the παραφυλακίται of Pergamum in Hellenistic times: Magie (n. 15 above) II 1516.

It is worth while to elaborate a little on this last point. Perilaus is not in fact given the title 'irenarch', but referred to in words that might apply to anyone, whatever his exact title, who exercised the policing function in which Perilaus appears: 'the man in charge of the peace'.<sup>33</sup> And there were in fact officers with this peace-keeping function in various regions around the eastern Mediterranean in the first century A.D. and earlier. So the security police of Hellenistic Egypt, the φυλακῖται mentioned above, were led by ἀρχιφυλακῖται,<sup>34</sup> and the Phrygian φυλακῖται mentioned in an inscription<sup>35</sup> from the reign of Antiochus III of Syria (223–187 B.C.) and the παραφυλακῖται of Hellenistic Pergamum<sup>36</sup> will have had their commanders too, a function perhaps exercised at Pergamum by the παραφύλαξ, whose duties were very similar to those of the irenarch<sup>37</sup> and brought him into contact with brigands.<sup>38</sup> The most interesting such officer for purposes of comparison with Perilaus is probably the ἀρχιφύλαξ of the κοινόν of neighbouring Lycia: his office existed at least as early as 43 A.D. and his chief duty was the maintenance of the peace (τῆς τε εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς εὐθυμίας μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος προνοούμενος TAM II 905, II E 7–9; cf. τῆ περι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιμελεία IV E 8, V B 14).<sup>39</sup> Just as the ἀρχιφύλαξ was in charge of peace-keeping in Lycia, so Perilaus is represented as having responsibility for the whole of Cilicia, whereas the irenarchs appear always to have been attached to particular towns.<sup>40</sup> The lack of relevant evidence concerning Cilicia itself is doubtless due to chance. The people of Cilicia too will have needed to protect themselves against robbers long before the second century A.D.: Cilicia was in fact particularly notorious in antiquity as a centre of piracy and brigandage, a problem with which

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<sup>33</sup> It is not, of course, the case that the expression τῆς εἰρήνης ἄρχειν must presuppose the title εἰρηνάρχης, but rather that the title was fashioned on the basis of these ordinary words expressing the function in question.

<sup>34</sup> Hirschfeld (n. 15 above) 867 (= *Kl. Schr.* 600); Kießling (n. 31 above) 987f. s.v. *Phylakites*; Schultheß, *RE Suppl.* III (1918) 152f. s.v. ἀρχιφυλακῖτης; also Preisigke (n. 31 above) III 96.

<sup>35</sup> See n. 32 above.

<sup>36</sup> See n. 32 above.

<sup>37</sup> Magie (n. 15 above) I 647f., II 1516 n. 47.

<sup>38</sup> Magie (n. 15 above) I 648.

<sup>39</sup> J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (München u. Berlin 1965) 76.

<sup>40</sup> See the literature cited in n. 15 above (with n. 22 above).

the Romans had to concern themselves specially in the early decades of the first century B.C.<sup>41</sup>

It would seem, then, that the references to Perilaus' policing function are less useful for dating the *Ephesiaca* than has been believed and that they allow the possibility that it was composed much earlier than the second century A.D.

## 2. *Xenophon and his critics*

Xenophon's early editors and critics thought highly, too highly, of him,<sup>42</sup> but the tide of taste soon turned. Already in 1775, less than fifty years after the appearance of the *editio princeps* (1726), the German poet Gottfried August Bürger, in the foreword to his translation of the *Ephesiaca*, felt the need to forestall criticism of his chosen undertaking by voicing himself the harsh judgement of the romance that he felt his likely critics would share: 'Eigentlich sollte ich nun wohl hier mein Original loben. Allein – leider! weiß ich selbst nur zu gut, daß ich viel was Gescheiteres hätte tun können, als ein albernes Romänlein verdeutschen. Dieses brauchte mir also kein Kunstrichter zu sagen . . .'. A hundred years later Erwin Rohde, in dealing with Xenophon in his monumental work *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*,<sup>43</sup> speaks of 'die Armut dieses wirklich bornierten Kopfes'.<sup>44</sup> Of the many writers

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<sup>41</sup> See H. J. Ormerod, *JRS* 12 (1922) 35ff. and his *Piracy in the ancient world* (Liverpool and London 1924) 190–247 (esp. 191ff.); Magie (n. 15 above) I 287ff., II 1167ff.; R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman order* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966) 161f.

<sup>42</sup> Politian (1489, in *Miscellanea* chap. 51; see further e.g. Locella's edition pp. VI [with n. 5] and 132f.) thought him 'non insuavior' than Xenophon of Athens; the translators Salvini (1723) and Jourdan (1748) extol him in their prefaces; enthusiastic too were e.g. P. Burmann and I. A. Fabricius (both quoted by Locella p. XI n. 25), the judgement of Fabricius being typical: 'Est sane suavis lectu ac delectabilis hic scriptor: dictio pura, elegans, candida, facilis: narratio pressa, aperta, mirabilis, amoena'. Cocchi (*ed. prin.* 1726) is more reserved (one senses a note of politely diffident understatement) in his prefatory address to the Earl of Huntingdon, but still in no way unfavourable: 'Est in tenui et simplici argumento et oratione quod huius Xenophontis fortasse probes, et quare non postremum illi locum vel antiquitate, si conicere hinc fas est, vel ingenio tribuas inter Graecos huiusmodi fabularum scriptores'.

<sup>43</sup> Leipzig 1876.

<sup>44</sup> 407 (= <sup>3</sup>1914, 435).

on the ancient romances since Rohde none but Miss E. H. Haight<sup>45</sup> seems to have dissented markedly from his view. The general dissatisfaction with Xenophon's effort at a work of art is well reflected in Gärtner's *RE* article.<sup>46</sup>

In his discussion of the *Ephesiaca* Rohde remarks at one point 'Stellenweise liest sich diese Erzählung fast wie eine bloße Inhaltsangabe einer Erzählung; fast könnte man auf den Gedanken kommen, gar nicht einen voll entwickelten Roman, sondern nur das *Skelett* eines Romans, einen *Auszug* aus einem ursprünglich viel umfangreichern Buche vor sich zu haben'.<sup>47</sup> In a footnote<sup>48</sup> he tells us 'Ich meine dies ganz ernstlich' and goes on to give the grounds for his view that our *Ephesiaca* may well be only an epitome,<sup>49</sup> noticing prominently the mention in the *Suda* of ten books as against the five we have.<sup>50</sup> This idea of Rohde's was taken up by K. Bürger,<sup>51</sup> who sought not only to show that the transmitted *Ephesiaca* is an epitome but also to point out exactly where the epitomator has been at work, and it has bedevilled the study of Xenophon ever since. The weakness of Bürger's case (which subsumes the points made by Rohde) has recently been exposed by Thomas Hägg,<sup>52</sup> but the epitome-theory persists. In his recent Teubner edition<sup>53</sup> A. D. Papanikolaou, according with a suggestion made by Prof. Merkelbach,<sup>54</sup> includes a special apparatus noting (unfortunately not

<sup>45</sup> New York 1943, 55. She refers to the *Ephesiaca* as 'this gem of a novel', a judgement for which she has been rebuked by Prof. Gärtner (2056).

<sup>46</sup> 2060ff.

<sup>47</sup> 401 (= <sup>3</sup>1914, 429).

<sup>48</sup> 401 n. 1 (= <sup>3</sup>1914, 429 n. 1).

<sup>49</sup> This view is, of course, inconsistent with the hurling of insults at Xenophon on the basis of the transmitted text. Contradictoriness of this kind has tended to pervade literature on the *Ephesiaca* ever since the almost universally accepted epitome-theory was proposed (cf. n. 59 below).

<sup>50</sup> It is worth noting, however, that Rohde says of the statement in the *Suda*, 'Auf diese isolierte Aussage wäre freilich wenig Gewicht zu legen, . . .'

<sup>51</sup> *Hermes* 27 (1892) 36–67.

<sup>52</sup> *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27 (1966) 118–161. The date on the periodical is misleading: it did not appear until after Gärtner's *RE* article (1968). Gärtner's full acceptance of the epitome-theory is noted by Hägg (119).

<sup>53</sup> Leipzig 1973. It needs urgent replacement. Reeve, in his otherwise excellent review of Papanikolaou's edition (*JHS* 96 [1976] 192–193), shares the view that the *Ephesiaca* is an epitome (193 col. 1).

<sup>54</sup> *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (München-Berlin 1962) 91 n. 1.

without errors) the places where Bürger saw the hand of an epitomator.

Almost all those who have written on the *Ephesiaca* since Bürger's article appeared have accepted his conclusions,<sup>55</sup> and Prof. Merkelbach has added the complication of a *Heliosredaktion* which is supposed to have preceded the epitomization.<sup>56</sup> There have been very few doubters,<sup>57</sup> and Hägg is the only one to have given sufficient grounds for his doubts. To Rattenbury it seemed 'more likely that the shortcomings of the *Ephesiaca* are due to the incompetence of the author rather than to the hand of an epitomizer'.<sup>58</sup> The similar judgement of Prof. Lesky, delivered in his universally used history of Greek literature, is worth quoting: 'Nun zeigt die Komposition des Romans, der die Fülle der Abenteuer recht kunstlos reiht, in manchen Partien eine auffallende Knappheit. So hat Rohdes Vermutung, uns liege ein Auszug vor, manches für sich. Doch ist es bei diesem kümmerlichen Skribenten nicht auszuschließen, daß die genannten Erscheinungen einfach aus seinem geringen Können zu erklären sind'.<sup>59</sup> The *Ephesiaca*, we are told, may be an epitome, or it may just be the work of a 'wretched scribbler'. In this book I hope to show that it is certainly not an epitome and that the overwhelming probability is that its peculiar character has much less to do with scribbling than it is at first natural to think.

Instead of spending one's powers attacking Xenophon it would be better to make a more thorough effort to understand the *Ephesiaca*. I shall show in chapter III that Xenophon's romance consists largely of

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<sup>55</sup> See the list in Hägg (n. 52 above 119 n. 3). It is a pity that in the recent *Cambridge History of Classical Literature I*, bound to be much consulted, Bowie (1985) simply presents the epitomization as a fact (pp. 685, 690f.).

<sup>56</sup> See pp. 139–44 below.

<sup>57</sup> Doubters, rather than outright disbelievers, apart from Hägg are: Haight 41 ('It seems to me possibly an intentionally short romance written briefly and simply by an author whose taste was akin to that of Chariton and who perhaps was intentionally showing a definite reaction against the verbosity of other novelists', reflecting the common belief that Xenophon came after Chariton); Th. Sinko, *Eos* 41 (1940–46) 34; R. M. Rattenbury, *Gnomon* 22 (1950) 75; Q. Cataudella in *Il romanzo classico* (Roma 1958) XI n. 2; A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Bern und München 1971) 965.

<sup>58</sup> N. 57 above.

<sup>59</sup> N. 57 above. What Lesky says involves some confusion of thought: if we entertain at all the notion that the features in question may be due to epitomization, and have done nothing to show that they are not, how can we so confidently characterize the original author? (Cf. n. 49 above.)