Constructing Self: Leucippe's personae in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon

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Abstract

Just as Odysseus tries to find a way home to his family, the protagonists of the Ancient Greek Novel are cast away in the whole Mediterranean Sea on their search for a happy ending to their love story. Like their epic predecessor and prototype, they are faced with foreign countries, exotic nature, strange customs and both friendly and hostile people. Thus similar to Odysseus, they have to be polytropoi in both possible meanings: they must wander about in various, fictitious regions of the Ancient World and hence swiftly adapt to alien environments as well as cope with unfamiliar or even dangerous situations. During his adventures Odysseus not only adjusts himself with ease to every new condition, but goes so far as to assume a different persona according to the circumstances and needs, by either denying any identity at all - as Outis in the Polyphemus-episode - or by inventing a new identity - as in the Cretan Lies. Starting from polymetis Odysseus, the aim of this paper is to elucidate a similar play with identities in Achilles Tatius' novel Leucippe and Clitophon, focusing on the surprisingly strong and active heroine: Leucippe is the young and beautiful female protagonist of this romance, stemming from an aristocratic family in Byzantium. The girl thus represents the archetypical Greek parthenos. Nevertheless, Leucippe is not what she seems to be: as the narrative develops, the Greek girl exhibits different personae which she either assumes herself or which are given to her by other characters in the novel. She has to find magical herbs for a love potion as an alleged Thessalian slave, and as an expert in Egyptian spells she cures her companion from a bee sting and thus even provides an opportunity for the first kiss with Clitophon. Because of her beauty and her almost supernatural abilities she is compared to the Greek Selene, the Phoenician Astarte or the Egyptian Isis - she is even perceived as the embodiment of those deities. And after one of her three apparent deaths she is feared as a haunting ghost. Thus, Leucippe's identities range from aristocrat to slave, from Greek to Phoenician to Egyptian, from human girl to haunting ghost to immortal goddess. As cunning Odysseus invented new identities for his needs, Leucippe herself as well as her companions and opponents construct and exploit her new personae for their purposes. This paper will analyse Leucippe's different personae and their function in the plot. In doing so, it will show that the multiple characterisation of Leucippe is typical of Achilles Tatius' play with identities. This changing description, this con- and destruction of the novel's characters, creates an atmosphere of interchangeability, a world where clearly defined roles do not exist, where everybody can re-invent her/himself or be re-invented according to the circumstances. Achilles Tatius' description of the novel's characters therefore reflects the cultural and literary background of the Second Sophistic in which socio-cultural identity was complex and as a concept redefined and explored.
Constructing Self: Leucippe's personae in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon

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[Introduction]
Πέπραται, δεδούλευκε, γην ἐσκαψε, σεσύληται τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ κάλλος "she had been sold, has served as a slave, dug the earth, was stripped of her beauty from her head" — these are just some of the manifold adventures the Greek parthenos Leucippe, female protagonist in Achilles Tatius' romance, has to endure. To slavery we can add flight with her lover Clitophon after an interrupted rendezvous in Tyre, storm and shipwreck, attack by Egyptian bandits, immolation and cannibalism as a purificatory sacrifice, resurrection through magic, madness as a result of a love potion overdose, kidnapping by pirates and beheading on open sea — the second of in all three apparent deaths with 'resurrection' she experiences. After this crescendo of incredible adventures, the usual attempts of seduction and rape the novel heroine has to fend off seem almost unworthy of mentioning. Thus, when Clitophon summarises the couple's travelling for Leucippe's father in the last book, he stresses explicitly Leucippe's own sufferings and her heroic behaviour and describes them as "bigger" (μείζονα) than his own. Although he does it to please his beloved one, for us, the readers, this statement seems actually true.³

It is this brave, tormented girl this paper will concentrate on: I will try to convince you that Leucippe is not at all a 'colourless and featureless character' or just the 'typical novel heroine' as some modern scholars have classified her (especially in comparison with her 'realistic' rival Melite).⁴ Rather I will show how Leucippe displays a multifaceted identity and how this play with different personae is closely connected to her status as a fugitive, a specific kind of traveller. In this regard, I will argue, Achilles Tatius takes up the notion of the

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¹ This is the elaborated written version of the paper presented at the ICAN 2008 in Lisbon. If you would like to have the handout with the specific text passages in advance, please send an email to nicola.duemmler@klphs.uzh.ch. - For many helpful remarks I would like to thank Prof. Dr. R. Hunter, Prof. Dr. M. Baumbach, M. Cummings and most of all Calum Maciver.
² Ach.Tat. 8,5,4. The edition used is Garnaud 2002; the translations are my own. See also Leucippe's own, trenchant summary in a letter to Clitophon in 5,18,2-6.
³ Ach.Tat. 8,5,1-8 (quote: 8,5,3).
⁴ Napolitano 1983-1984 discusses Leucippe's 'lively and realistic representation' (88; see her summary of earlier secondary literature, 87-88). For Leucippe and Melite as "complementary characters", see Segal 1984 (quote: 83).
traveller Odysseus and develops it for his own means, against the background of his time, the second century AD;\textsuperscript{5} that is to say, of the contemporary potpourri of Greek, Roman and Oriental cultural and religious traditions, as well as the so-called Second Sophistic when scholars discussed intensively the idea of being Greek and the concept of identity in general.

Hence the aim of this paper is to show with the figure of Leucippe how Achilles Tatius reflects and explores this situation of multiple cultural, ethnic and religious identities in the Greco-Roman world – a topic which is the focus of my current PhD-project. In the scope of this paper, I will concentrate on Leucippe's characterisation as a Greek \textit{parthenos} and how it is con-, de- and reconstructed accordingly during her journey.\textsuperscript{6}

\textbf{[Travelling and developing characters]}

Now, these \textit{ὕβρεις ἐξ Ἐρωτος} "cruelties by the hand of Eros"\textsuperscript{7} Leucippe endures are familiar from the other four extant Greek novels. In fact – with the exception of Longus' \textit{Daphnis and Chloe} – every couple faces these adventures abroad, while wandering around in the ancient world and meeting friendly and hostile people who try to separate, seduce and even kill them. Only at the end of their journey, the lovers come together again for sure and live happily ever after.\textsuperscript{8}

Obviously, travelling plays an important part in the plot of almost all of these romances. It seems that the couple has to travel and to undergo these miseries to find and to deserve its happy ending. The outward journey thus parallels, accompanies, mirrors and many times causes an inward one, i.e. an inner

\textsuperscript{5} The novel might even belong to the first half of the 2nd century AD; see the dating of P.Oxy. 3836 by Cavallo 1996, esp. 36.

\textsuperscript{6} A similar, more obvious play with multiple identities can be found in Heliodorus' \textit{Aethiopica}, esp. in the characters of the Ethiopian / Greek heroine Charicleia and the Egyptian / Greek priest Calasiris. The following articles on Heliodorus' notion of identity were very helpful for this paper: Perkins 1999 (Heliodorus' presentation of identity as "a both/and category", thus establishing "a multitude of identities for an individual" [208]; discussed in a sociocultural context); Whitmarsh 1998 (Heliodorus' play with identities as a sign for "his own 'heteroglossic' poetics" [124], or – as he puts it later on – for the "self-consciously 'bastard' genre of the novel" [see id. 1999, 33]); id. 1999 (the \textit{Aetiopica} as "writes of passage" – with focus on the couple's 'linear travelling'); and id. 2002.

\textsuperscript{7} Thus Clitophon's description of his adventures in analepsis at the beginning of the romance (Ach.Tat. 1,2,1; note \textit{Ἐρωτος} instead of Garnaud's \textit{2002 Ἐρωτος}).

\textsuperscript{8} As the endings of four of the Greek romances suggest. But see Achilles Tatius: although the couple is reunited at the end of the novel and celebrates its marriage, the setting of the story hints at another development. For Clitophon is alone, without his beloved Leucipe, and seems to be sad, moaning. Thus the reader is left with a rather uneasy feeling regarding this seemingly happy ending. For possible explanations, see Most 1989 and Repath 2005.
development of the protagonists.⁹ But I do not want to go down a religious path here and talk about a supposed initiative function of the novels as mystery texts, as Merkelbach and others did.¹⁰ Rather, I want to approach the topic 'travelling and developing characters' from another point of view.

The Greek novel draws here on a long tradition of accounts about mythic and pseudo-real travellers like Odysseus, Jason, Heracles, Solon or Pythagoras. A journey was perceived as substantial for a hero's or a wise man's quest and his individual growth: during his peregrination, the hero had to prove his strength and would grow with every adventure, while the wise man achieved his specific knowledge and wisdom through foreign, very often Egyptian contact.¹¹

[Travelling and shifting character: πολύτροπος Odysseus]

A significant case in the league of ancient travellers is Odysseus. The Odyssey, as the narrative of wanderings and adventures par excellence, is one of the most important models for the genre of the Greek novel, and Odysseus is the prototype for all successive globe-trotters and thus for the novel-characters. Now, the combination of Odysseus' notoriously cunning personality with the above described notion of the travelling hero leads to an interesting concept: a traveller who not only becomes worthy of his happy ending through his journey and sufferings, but who especially adapts and assimilates himself swiftly and cleverly to the challenges he faces. Odysseus goes even so far as to both invent and play new identities, for example as a Cretan exile and beggar back on Ithaca, as well as to deny any identity at all, as Outis in the Polyphemus-episode. Frequently, his wily role play is supported and even initiated by his personal goddess Athene.

In this regard it is worth noting that the very first description of Odysseus in the first line of the Odyssey is πολύτροπος "with many turns". This adjective encompasses and summarises in one word Odysseus' personality and adventures during his nostos and serves together with ἄνδρα, the very first word

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⁹ See for example Chaereas in Chariton's Callirhoe who grows from a jealous husband who almost kills his wife in a frantic attack to a truly heroic, manly partner, worthy of the hand of Callirhoe, daughter of Hermocrates, the strategos who defeated the Athenian fleet.

¹⁰ For another analysis of these "initiatory patterns" in Heliodorus, see for example Whitmarsh 1999 (quote: 19).

¹¹ See as well Whitmarsh 1999 who talks about the "rites of passage" in Heliodorus.

¹² See for example Od. 13ff. (the Cretan lies) and 9 (the Polyphemus-episode). Heatherington 1976 sees Odysseus' personae as "a progression through various stages of disguise and revelation" with the purpose of re-establishing order, as a "slow re-definition of himself, first by recounting his immediate past and then by pretending to have many different pasts" (229).
of the epic, as a title-like hint at the content of the following narrative. The basic meaning of the adjective πολύτροπος is in itself polytropic, as shown by its occurrences as well as ancient discussions of this Odyssey-passage: it can be interpreted as a) "with many turning movements, i.e. wanderings" and points to the hero's journey in the whole Mediterranean Sea; b) "with many turning thoughts" and describes his cunning nature; and c) "with many turning forms" and symbolises his adapting to new situations and his role playing during his journey. Thus πολύτροπος is the perfect description for this specific concept of a cunning and Proteus-like traveller.

[Achilles Tatius and the idea of the Odyssean traveller: πολύτροπος Leucippe]
In Achilles Tatius, both the male and the female protagonist bear Odyssean traits: besides the typical Greek novel motives of wanderings, adventures abroad and the happy ending of the reunited couple, Clitophon himself is the I-narrator of the actual romance and therefore closely comparable to Odysseus, as he tells his adventures to the Phaeacans. Furthermore, like him Clitophon relies on his rhetorike techne and uses his words cleverly when winning Leucippe's love or evading sex with Melite. He even adapts, alters and invents facts while narrating his story, for example confessing to supposed murder in court or lying about his relationship with Melite to Leucippe's father – thus in the end he leaves us, his audience, rather unsure about his trustworthiness as a narrator. However, it is especially the female protagonist who can remind the reader of the epic predecessor: the many wondrous adventures Leucippe herself endures have been already touched on. Moreover, during the development of the narrative her character exhibits some interesting changes and new features: like πολύτροπος Odysseus, the Greek parthenos adjusts to new circumstances and needs, she even plays new roles, personae she either assumes herself or which she accepts after they have been imposed on her by others. Thus the novel represents Leucippe as a traveller with many faces.

13 Compare LSJ s.v. πολύτροπος; and the commentaries ad loc. such as Heubeck et al. 1988, 69-70 and Stanford 1959 (R. 1971), 206-207 with references.
14 See for example Ach.Tat. 1 + 2 (Leucippe); 5 (Melite); 7.7.2-6 (Leucippe's 'murder') and 8.5.1-8 (with Sostratos). Moreover, as the epic hero lives together with Circe and especially with Calypso in a marriage-like state, the widow Melite becomes Clitophon's legitimate wife until he recovers his beloved Leucippe whom he had thought to be dead ('wedding' resp. κενογάμιον in 5,14,2-4).
One striking example is Leucippe's re-appearance in the fifth book after her second apparent death: bound by ropes, head shaven, dirty, in shabby clothes and beaten up, therefore almost unrecognisable as the Greek *parthenos* Leucippe, she re-enters the novel's stage as a supposedly Thessalian slave called Lacaina and begs for pity in front of Clitophon and his new wife. Although this *persona* has been forced on her by the people who sold her, she cunningly keeps on playing this role, even explicitly decides to stick to it for her own purposes, to protect herself and Clitophon.

This scene with Leucippe / Lacaina bears resemblances to Odysseus in book 6 of the *Odyssey*, where he is begging Nausicaa for help, exhausted and almost completely naked after his journey on sea, but it reminds us in particular of Odysseus in book 13ff.: transformed into a Cretan beggar by Athene, the epic hero plays his role convincingly while encountering his beloved ones, Eumaius, Telemachus and most of all his wife Penelope. – Leucippe thus represents an Achilllean adaptation of the concept of the Odyssean traveller, becoming herself πολύτροπος in the threefold Odyssean sense.

["White Horse" Leucippe – a *parthenos* on the run]

When we encounter Leucippe's name for the first time, she is mentioned in a letter sent by Clitophon's uncle Sostratos to Clitophon's father Hippias in the first book: war is raging between Thrace and Byzantium where Sostratos and his family live. This is why he is sending his daughter Leucippe and her mother to his brother Hippias in Tyre with the request to protect them until the end of the war. Hence with her very first appearance, Leucippe is established as a specific kind of traveller: a fugitive far away from home, running from the dangers of war, particularly from rape and murder – rape especially threatening her status as a *parthenos*.

This idea of the fugitive Leucippe stays throughout the novel: while in the first two books set in Tyre, Leucippe and Clitophon have to 'flee' the stern eyes of her

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15 Ach.Tat. 5,17,3-10; second Scheintod: 5,7,1-9.
16 See Ach.Tat. 5,17,3 and 5,17,6.
17 Cf. Ach.Tat. 5,17,9.
18 For her introduction as Lacaina when meeting Melite and Clitophon, see Ach.Tat. 5,17,5. She plays this role in 5,22,1-8 towards Melite who asks her for a Thessalian love potion, and furthermore, she decides to keep this persona in 6,16,6.
19 So both Nausicaa and Melite let their servants take care of the suppliant: Odysseus and Leucippe / Lacaina are washed, provided with new clothes and then led to town. See Od. 6 and Ach.Tat. 5,17,10.
20 Ach.Tat. 1,3,6.
mother and others, finding secret ways of sharing their love, their following adventures abroad are based on their escape at the end of the second book after they have been caught during a night of love. Again, Leucippe’s status as a fugitive is closely connected to her *parthenia* – Leucippe is a *parthenos* on the run.

It is then in her very name we can find further hints to her personality: Λευκ-ίππη can be easily explained as a so called possessive compound meaning "she who has a white horse". In archaic and classical Greece, the attested cases of onomastic compounds with ἵππος are often connected to the ownership of horses and thus to a high social rank. Leucippe’s name therefore represents her as a member of a rich, 'aristocratic' family.

Yet, Λευκ-ίππη can be further analysed, and it is this interpretation which is of special interest for the concept of our fugitive traveller: onomastic compounds which have an animal term as one of their elements often do not refer to the possession of this animal, but rather to a quality or a social status the name givers (usually the parents) wish the name bearers to have or to achieve. As a so called determinative compound, the name is translated as "White Horse" and hints at specific characteristics Leucippe might have. – So what does a white horse symbolise and which associations could be implied here?

First of all, horses and especially white horses are regarded as noble animals. In addition, the colour white is often used in descriptions of goddesses or god-like women. Leucippe is thus a noble, beautiful *parthenos*. But horses are primarily known to be wild flight animals: they are difficult to tame, not easy to handle and run away if they get frightened. Now this association of her name not

21 See esp. the Conops-episode, Ach.Tat. 2,20,1-2,23,2.
23 See Nagarkar 1979. This is further demonstrated by the development of a particular use of the compound element ἵππος: as a kind of derivative device (a new 'suffix'), it builds proper names from already existing ones – similar to the patronymic-suffix -ιδης or -ιάδης. These new names stand in close connection to their ‘basis’ and have a noble connotation because of the ἵππος-element, but are not translatable at all. Thus, a father called Εὔδημος can have a son with the name Εὐδήμ-ιππος. See Dubois 2000, 41-43. For a comic elaboration of the topic see Ar. Nu. 59-80 where a son is called Φειδ-ιππ-ίδης, a proper -ίδης-derivation of his grandfather’s name incl. the ‘aristocratic’ element ἵππος.

24 Compare as well her uncle’s name Ἱππίας “rider”.
25 See Dubois 2000, esp. 44: the name bearer should “become as prominent in war or in human society as the noblest animal in the herd”. He compares Sioux names like Sitting Bull or Crazy Horse.
26 For the noble connotations associated with white horses compare e.g. the instances of λευκόππος according to LSJ s.v. and DNP s.v. (often as name of heroes; or as epithet of heroes, gods and places connected with horse-breeding like Thessaly). Also, in the *Iliad* the horses of the Thracian king Rhesus are not only the most beautiful, impressive and as fast as the wind but also whiter than snow (cf. Il. 10,435-437).
27 See for the novel and its heroines in particular Beta et al. 1993, 89 (s.v. λευκός and λευκώλενος). Note esp. the case of Heliodorus’ Charicleia, a white Ethiopian, likeness of Andromeda (see e.g. Hld. 4,8,1-8).
only goes perfectly well with her status as a war fugitive and traveller on the run but might even hint at the difficulties Clitophon (and others) will have to get and keep Leucippe. For unlike the other Greek romances, Clitophon's love at first sight is not reciprocal, but our hero has to gather all his skills and to seek advice from his friends to make Leucippe well disposed towards his advances – a difficult task he has to approach with caution, otherwise the girl might 'run away'.

This interpretation is strengthened and amplified by two passages in book 1: in the first one, Clitophon asks his cousin Clinias, who is already initiated in the mysteries of Eros, how he can gain Leucippe's love. Clinias advises Clitophon to approach her slowly and carefully – if not, she might be shocked and embarrassed. To explain his point, he explicitly compares the winning of a woman's heart to the domesticating of a wild animal.

At the same time as Clitophon is talking to Clinias about the taming of his "White Horse", another scene is happening, told in analepsis and involving another, yet real horse. Both concomitant scenes should be read closely together: Clinias had presented a beautiful horse to his lover Charicles. After his first riding exercises went well and while he was praising and caressing the sweaty horse, it suddenly rears up, frightened by a noise behind it, and bolts in full gallop. Charicles is thrown off against a tree, wounded by the pointed branches, and dragged along behind the fleeing animal. The horse – even more frightened by Charicles' fall and at the same time impeded in its flight by the body – starts kicking Charicles to free itself. Thus, the good-looking young man is killed and disfigured beyond all recognition. – Clinias' lament over his dead lover throws further light on the scene: he calls the horse a beast – an evil beast – and not the right gift of love for a handsome man; the horse is a murderer, a manslayer, the wildest of all animals, unthankful, insensitive to beauty, heartless.

Although Clinias' words attack this specific horse, the description gives some valuable hints to the possible nature of horses in general and particularly of Clitophon's own "White Horse" Leucippe: a horse is "the wildest of all beasts"

28 Ach.Tat. 1,7,1.
29 Ach.Tat. 1,7,1-1,11,3.
30 See Ach.Tat. 1,9,1-1,10,7; esp. 1,9,6.
31 Ach.Tat. 1,12,1-6.
32 Ach.Tat. 1,7,1; 1,8,11.
33 Ach.Tat. 1,12,2-4.
34 Ach.Tat. 1,12,5-6.
35 Ach.Tat. 1,14,1-3.
and thus almost impossible to tame. Seemingly under control, it might suddenly break out and bring danger, even deadly danger, to the person who wants to own and domesticate it. Thus, this intratext shows how Clitophon's love can be a blessing and at the same time a threat to him, how he can never be completely certain that he has his Leucippe for sure. The further narrative demonstrates this: not only is it because of his love for "White Horse" that Clitophon will undergo his flight from home – thus losing his identity to some degree like Charicles – and will experience many miseries abroad, but he will lose Leucippe again and again.  

[The con-, de- and reconstruction of a Greek parthenos]

Now, the characteristics 'high social status' and 'outstanding beauty' associated with Leucippe's name are enhanced in the first description of Leucippe in book 1 where she arrives with her mother in Tyre and where Clitophon sees her for the very first time: it is a huge procession of servants which escorts the women, and Leucippe's mother is depicted as tall, impressive and richly dressed. But it is the girl's bright, shining appearance next to her mother which catches Clitophon's eye, dazzles him and makes him think of the moon-goddess Selene he had seen in a picture once, riding on a bull. Leucippe's almost divine beauty is underlined by her vigorous, delightful eyes, her blond, thick and curly hair, her white skin with a slight rosy touch and by her rose-like lips. Also, her dark brows stand out against both the light skin and her blond hair and thus attract further attention to her special eyes. – Leucippe's striking looks and her family's high social status clearly construct her as the archetypical Greek parthenos and are common in the description of novel heroines.

However this is only one, obvious side of Leucippe's characterisation. Behind this typical image, we can recognise other features which contrast, even undermine it. Thus Leucippe's description recalls the meaning of her name: the emphasis on

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36 In this respect, it is worth noting that we encounter Clitophon in Sidon – after his supposed happy ending – without Leucippe. See footnote 8. Cf. also Ach.Tat. 3,14,2 where Clitophon shows off his riding skills. The comparison of a young woman with a horse or a filly in an erotic context is not uncommon in Greek and Latin literature; cf. e.g. Anacr. 417 PMG and Hor. Carm. 3.11.9-12.

On Leucippe's 'animalisation' see as well Morales 1995, esp. in regard to the phoenix and its erotic associations. Note that the phoenix too is a prototypical traveller: he flies from Ethiopia to Egypt to bury his father (cf. Ach.Tat. 3,25,1-7). The adventurous travelling of "White Horse" Leucippe invokes the flight and wanderings of "White Bull" Io; for parallels see Laplace 1983.

37 Ach.Tat. 1,4,1-5.

38 Ach.Tat. 1,4,1.

39 Ach.Tat. 1,4,2-3.

40 Ach.Tat. 1,4,3.
bright colours; the explicit comparison with the shining moon-goddess who is furthermore often depicted riding on a horse or driving a chariot;\textsuperscript{41} the adjectives \textit{γοργός} and \textit{ξανθός} which can be found in the description of animals and particularly of horses too;\textsuperscript{42} and especially her white skin, the contrast of her dark brows and her vivid look\textsuperscript{43} – these elements remind us of the features of a white horse and might thus summon its noble, but also its dangerous, untameable nature.

Moreover, Leucippe's comparison with Selene is noteworthy: first of all, it reinforces the idea of Leucippe as a Protean traveller, for the moon-goddess herself is famous for her monthly journey as well as her concomitant changing face.\textsuperscript{44} Beside that, 'Selene riding on a bull' clearly points to a description at the very beginning of the novel which is of particular interest for us:\textsuperscript{45} on a votive picture in the temple of the Phoenician love-goddess Astarte in Sidon, a girl is shown, riding on a bull over the water towards Crete.\textsuperscript{46} The girl can be easily identified as Europa, being abducted by the Zeus-bull – and this is also the reading of the anonymous I-narrator of the frame story.\textsuperscript{47} Europa is thus another traveller connected to our heroine. But at the same time, the depicted girl displays quite an active behaviour, for she seems to control the bull by one of its horns or sail on him like on a ship, using her \textit{peplos} as a sail.\textsuperscript{48} This, and the context the picture is set in, rather suggest the identification with Astarte – the scene therefore showing her as she defeats her partner Baal, often depicted as a bull, on her own territory the sea.\textsuperscript{49} Both readings of the scene – the Greek as well as the Phoenician – point via the Selene-connection to Leucippe's own multiple nature: as we can identify the 'girl on the bull' either as the Greek \textit{parthenos} Europa, the Phoenician love-goddess

\textsuperscript{41} See Gury 1994.
\textsuperscript{42} Cf. LSJ s.v. \textit{γοργός} and \textit{ξανθός}.
\textsuperscript{43} Her vividness can be also seen in her rosy cheeks and her slightly opened lips (Ach.Tat. 1,4,3).
\textsuperscript{44} See Gury 1994 incl. references.
\textsuperscript{45} Ach.Tat. 1,1,2-13. This close connection of the two scenes even seems to have motivated in 1,4,3 a \textit{varia lectio} Εὐρώπην in some of the manuscripts. However, Σελήνην is to prefer: it is the \textit{lectio difficilior}, and the comparison suits Leucippe's shining appearance better. See e.g. Garnaud 2002, 8 (app. crit. ad 1,4,3) and Vilborg 1962, 21-22; for another opinion see Napolitano 1983-1984, 90.
\textsuperscript{46} Ach.Tat. 1,1,3.
\textsuperscript{47} Ach.Tat. 1,1,2.
\textsuperscript{48} Ach.Tat. 1,1,10-12.
\textsuperscript{49} For this "culturally bivalent" reading of the scene, see esp. Selden 1994, 50-51 with discussion of the iconography of Europa, Astarte and Selene as well as the according references (quote: 50).
Astarte or the Greek moon-goddess Selene, there seem to be more facets behind Leucippe's own persona.

Like Europa, Leucippe seems only a passive puppet in the game of love. Like her, she will be abducted by her lovers over the sea – first voluntarily by Clitophon to Egypt, then against her will by pirates to Ephesus – and she has to endure many miseries. However, like Astarte she will reveal now and again rather strong, active and dangerous sides, and she will find means to support her love and protect herself. This is especially clear in the first two books where we find Leucippe as an active lover: she slowly plays along with Clitophon, paying attention to his advances and returning his furtive looks. It is then the girl herself who provides the basis for their first kiss by taking on the role of an Egyptian witch, and she not only agrees to further rendezvous, but even to a night of love in her own bedroom. This is seemingly the last step in this process of deconstruction of her parthenia we can observe in books 1 and 2. It is only because of her mother's sudden appearance that Leucippe's status is not definitely changed. Thus although the identity of Leucippe as a Greek parthenos is constructed on the surface, there are undermining, deconstructing tendencies. Leucippe's identity therefore varies from chaste, passive girl à la Europa to powerful, active, even cunning lover à la Astarte who also takes on foreign, non-Greek features as for example as an Egyptian magician.

Nevertheless, Leucippe's parthenia prevails: the lovers themselves agree on their run to stay chaste until their lawful marriage; and although Leucippe is taken by bandits, pirates and is enslaved, she fends off even the worst threats to her virginity. In fact, as the slave Lacaina, having a completely new identity and looking rather like an ephebos, her true status still shines through – thus

50 For the assimilation of the Sidonian Astarte with Selene, see Selden 1994, 50 incl. n. 112-113 (with quotation of Lucian Syr.D. 4).
51 Ach.Tat. 2,30,1-2,31,6 (Clitophon); 5,7,1-2 (Chaireas). The scene with the girl on the bull foreshadows as well Calligone's abduction by Callisthenes (2,18,1-6). See for example Selden 1994, 51 incl. n. 124 and 130.
52 For Astarte as a symbol for the novel's motives, see Selden 1994, 51 incl. n. 130.
53 Cf. Ach.Tat. 1,16,1-1,19,3 (Clitophon's lecture on ἐρωτικὰ in nature); 2,1,1-3 (Leucippe plays the cithara and sings about the rose); 2,2,1-2,3,3 (furtive looks).
54 Cf. Ach.Tat. 2,6,1-2,8,3 (first kiss); 2,9,1-3 (further indirect kisses); 2,10,1-5 (another rendezvous); 2,19,1-2,31,6 (interrupted night of love and escape). A sign for Leucippe's loss of her image might be seen in the false abduction of Calligone (2,13,1-2,18,6): Callisthenes from Byzantium, in love with the famous beauty Leucippe whom he has never met in person, wants to abduct the girl from Tyre, but instead mistakes the parthenos Calligone for Leucippe.
56 Cf. e.g. Ach.Tat. 6,18,1-6,22,4; esp. 6,22,2-3.
57 Cf. Ach.Tat. 5,19,2.
Melite can see the girl's high birth, and Clitophon himself recognises in Lacaina traces of his beloved Leucippe.58 Finally in the last book, Leucippe will prove her parthenia by a magical test. Therefore, as the epic hero gives proof of his true identity after his wanderings by using his own bow and thus retains his former position as Odysseus, the legitimate ruler over Ithaca and husband of Penelope, Leucippe is officially re-established as Greek parthenos, a suitable novel heroine who deserves her happy ending and marriage.59 The circle of con-, de- and reconstruction of our typical novel heroine seems – at least for the moment – closed.60

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- Editions, Translations, Commentaries:

- Secondary Literature:

58 See Ach.Tat. 5,17,4 (Melite) and 5,17,7 (Clitophon).
59 Cf. Ach.Tat. 8,6,1-15 and 8,13,1-8,14,2.
60 On Leucippe's "dual aspects of the archetypally feminine", see as well Segal 1984: "the Artemis-like and the Aphrodite-like sides of her character are harmoniously resolved in marriage" (quote: 91; 89).


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