Habrocomes’ Lament in Xenophon of Ephesus’ *Ephesiaca* 5.1.12–13

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In the last book of Xenophon of Ephesus’ *Ephesiaca* we find an inserted novella. The old fisherman Aegialeus tells his love story to Habrocomes, the protagonist of the novel, in exchange for the hero’s (5.1.4–9): Aegialeus, once an aristocratic youth from Sparta, fell in love with Thelxinoe. They rejoiced in their love in secrecy and pledged themselves with fidelity. While the teenage boy was enrolled in the ephebes, the parents of the girl arranged for her to marry another young Spartan, Androcles. On the eve of her marriage, Thelxinoe agreed to elope with Aegialeus. Escaping from the city, which resulted in their exile, they came to Argos, then Corinth, and settled finally in Sicily where they lived out their days, poor but happy. Not long before Habrocomes came to Sicily, Thelxinoe died. Aegialeus kept his wife’s embalmed body in the inner room.

After Aegialeus has shown Habrocomes the body of Thelxinoe, the hero of the romance breaks into lament, touched by the old fisherman’s story (ἐτι λέγοντος τοῦ Αἰγιαλέως ἀνωδύρετο ὁ Ἀβροκόμης) and no less by his treatment of his wife’s body (5.1.12–13):

“σὲ δὲ λέγων, ὦ πασῶν δυστυχεστάτη κόρη, πότε ἄνευρῆσω κἂν νεκράν; Ἀιγιαλεὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν βίον μεγάλη παραμυθία τὸ σώμα τὸ Θελξινόνης, καὶ νῦν ἄληθῶς μεμάθηκα ὃτι ἐρως ἄληθινὸς ὁρὸν ἡλικίας οὐκ ἔχει· ἐγὼ δὲ πλανώμαι μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, οὐ δεδύνημαι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀκούσαι <τί> περὶ σοῦ. Ὡμαντεύματα δυστυχή, ὦ τὰ πάντων ἡμῖν Ἀπόλλον χρήσας χαλεπάτατα, οἰκτειρὸν ἤδη καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν μεμαντευμένων ἀποδίδου.”

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“Anthia,” he exclaimed, “the unluckiest girl of all! When will I ever find you, even as a corpse? The body of Thelxinoe is a great comfort in the life of Aegialeus, and now I have truly learnt that true love knows no age limits; but I wander over every land and sea, and yet I have not been able to hear about you. How doom-laden were the prophecies! I pray you, Apollo, who gave us the harshest oracles of all, have pity on us now and bring your prophecies to their final fulfilment.”

It has been widely acknowledged that the Aegialeus episode serves as a foil to the primary narrative. This passage has also received frequent notice by scholars, with particular attention paid to the question whether it provides evidence for character development of the hero, since the vocabulary of learning (με-μάθηκα) is involved. However, scholars have overlooked an important feature of Habrocomes’ response to Aegialeus’ story, namely the intratextual reference.

Focusing on the Aegialeus episode, this article is intended as a contribution on a nexus of motifs indicating some affective development in the protagonists. I will argue that Xenophon deliberately links Habrocomes’ response to Aegialeus’ story (a lamentation for the absent heroine) to two other lamentations in the romance. In echoing Habrocomes’ lament at 3.10.1–3 when he believes that the heroine has already died, the author highlights the motif of body as consolation (παραμυθία), which plays a significant role in the Aegialeus episode (I). Similarly, the

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contrast between lust and love is brought out by juxtaposing Habrocomes’ understanding of “true love without limits of age” at 5.1.12 (καὶ νῦν ἀληθῶς μεμάθηκα ὅτι ἐρως ἀληθινὸς ὅρον ἡλικίας οὐκ ἔχει) and Anthia’s lamentation at 1.4.6–7 generated by her uncontrollable erotic desire, the end of which (τίς ἔσται ὁ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὁρος) is then unknown (II).

I.

Recently Tim Whitmarsh has hailed the Aegialeus episode as “heavily counter-realistic,” since the story is not simply a story of true love as Habrocomes’ conclusion might suggest. Exile, poverty, old age, and death in Aegialeus’ account bring out that “it is also about the denial of truth, about the concealment of present realities beneath a carapace of past memories.”4 This interpretation is further supported by the fact that the narrator tells us that, although Thelxinoe’s mummified body is that of an elderly woman, she is perceived by the old fisherman as a young girl (δεικνύει τὴν Θελξινόην, γυναῖκα πρεσβῦτιν μὲν ἡδη, καλὴν δὲ φανομένην ἔτι Αἰγιαλεῖ κόρην 5.1.10). Aegialeus himself is not ignorant that Habrocomes might see her body differently as it appears to him (οὐ γὰρ οἶα νῦν ὄραται σοὶ τοιαύτῃ φαίνεται ἐμοὶ 5.1.11).5 Even before the death of Thelxinoe, their feeling of happiness in exile and in poverty is indeed due to the belief that they enjoyed every kind of pleasure because they lived with each other (ἐνταῦθα διήγομεν ἀπορίᾳ μὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἡδόμενοι δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπολαύειν δοκοῦντες, ὃτι ἦμεν μετ’ ἀλλήλων 5.1.8). In short, Aegialeus’ love story finds itself in a world of ‘belief’ and ‘as-ifs’, as Whitmarsh has convincingly demonstrated.

Such a world of ‘belief’ and ‘as-ifs’ entails ‘consolation’. While the danger that Aegialeus and Thelxinoe experienced in their adventure and the poverty they suffered in exile were compensated for by the fact that they lived together, the sight of Thelxinoe’s embalmed corpse now consoles the old fisherman in

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4 Whitmarsh Narrative and Identity 2.

5 Cf. also 5.1.11 ἀλλὰ ἐννοῶ, τέκνον, οία μὲν ἦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, οία δὲ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τὰς παννυχίδας ἐννοῶ, τὰς συνθῆκας ἐννοῶ.
his loneliness and tiredness (κἂν ἔλθω ποτὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλειας κεκμηκός, αὐτή με παραμυθεῖται βλεπομένη 5.1.11). In recognizing that for Aegialeus the body of Thelxinoe, although dead, is a great consolation in his life (Αἰγιαλεῖ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ βίου μεγάλη παραμυθία τὸ σῶμα τὸ Θελξινόης 5.1.12), Habrocomes is reminded that the meaning of his current adventure and his suffering lies in finding his Anthia, saying, “the unluckiest girl of all! When will I ever find you, even as a corpse?” This scene, I contend, evokes another lamentation of the hero when he believes that Anthia has already died (3.10.1–3):

When he heard this, Habrocomes tore his tunic to shreds and in a loud voice mourned Anthia’s chaste and noble death, and her unhappy disappearance afterwards. “What pirate,” he exclaimed, “is so much in love as to desire your corpse and even take your body away? I, poor wretch that I am, have been deprived of your body, my only consolation. So I am absolutely determined to die. But first I will go on until I find your body, embrace it, and bury myself with you.”

Habrocomes’ extremely emotional lamentation in this passage is precipitated by a story recounted by an old woman named Chrysion. She tells a story about the death of a girl in Cilicia (3.9.4–6) whom the bandit Hippothous, the hero’s friend, identifies as Anthia, whom Habrocomes is looking for (ἐστὶν ἡ κόρη, ἣν Ἀβροκόμης ζητεῖ 3.9.6). While believing that the heroine has truly died, Habrocomes hopes to find her tomb where her body is still intact (ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν σαφῶς τέθηκεν Ἀνθία καὶ τάφος ἰσως αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε καὶ τὸ σῶμα σφαξεῖ 3.9.7). In response to the hero’s request, Chrysion unfolds “the saddest part of the poor girl’s story,” namely how her body was spirited away from its tomb by pirates (3.9.8). As John Morgan points out, the
external narratee, who knows that Anthia is still alive (this is made clear by the primary narrator), is able to read this episode “as dramatic irony,” which also “provides motivation for Habrocomes’ voyage to Alexandria.”

To my knowledge, however, scholars—with the remarkable exception of Gareth Schmeling—have failed to recognize the significance of the relationship between the hero’s lamentation at 3.10.1–3 and his lamentation in the Aegialeus episode. In the following I shall explore the connections between these two passages by highlighting the motif of body as consolation. Focusing on the intratextual connections between 3.10.1–3 and 5.1.12–13, I do not deny the broader literary resonances of this motif that Xenophon is alluding to: notions of the body as a source of consolation go back to the *Iliad*, for it is a source of great pain to Achilles that his old father Peleus will never have his body as a consolation. My aim is to show Xenophon’s sophisticated use of cross-references to deepen the reader’s understanding of his narrative.

At 3.10.1–3 Habrocomes laments that he is a wretched man, deprived of Anthia’s body, his only consolation (τῆς μόνης ἐμοὶ παραμυθίας 3.10.2). This expression seems to contain a reference to the hero’s lament on account of his separation from Anthia when he has been taken prisoner (ἡ μὲν οἴχεται πόρρω ποι τῆς γῆς αἰχμάλωτος, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ μόνον ἀφῄρημαι παραμύθιον, καὶ τεθνήξομαι δυστυχὴς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μόνος 2.8.1). One notes the parallelism between τὸ μόνον ... παραμύθιον at 2.8.1 and τῆς μόνης ἐμοὶ παραμυθίας at 3.10.2. The motif of consolation in the former passage picks up a theme that has already been established in the first book. At 1.7.4, after being informed of the oracle and the wedding, Habrocomes is exceedingly pleased by the latter, but has no fear of what is prophesied in the former, since the marriage promises that he will have his Anthia; similarly, in possession of Habrocomes as

6 Morgan, in *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives* 491.
her consolation (Ἠβροκόμην ἔχουσα παραμυθίαν 1.7.4), the heroine feels no anxiety about “all the evils coming later” (πάντων τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν 1.7.4). In order to soften the oracle (1.10.3),7 the parents of our protagonists decide to send their children abroad; in spite of their pity, homesickness, worry, and doubts, Habrocomes and Anthia are consoled by the fact that they make the voyage together (τοὺς πατέρας οἰκτείροντες, τὴς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμοῦντες, τὸν χρησμὸν δεδοικότες, τὴν ἀποδημίαν ὑποπτεύοντες, παρεμυθεῖτο δʼ αὐτοὺς εἰς ἅπαντα ὁ μετ’ ἀλλήλων πλοῦς 1.11.1).

The motif of consolation in 3.10.1–3 and 5.1.12–13 has a significant difference from the passages discussed above (1.7.4, 1.11.1, 2.8.1): while in the first two books the consolation meant is the possession of one’s partner in life, Habrocomes’ laments in 3.10.1–3 and 5.1.12–13 are precipitated by his belief that Anthia has truly died.8 Schmeling sees in 5.1.12–13 “a much different opinion about Anthia’s corpse from the one he expressed in 3.10, when he learned that grave robbers had stolen Anthia’s (presumably) dead body. At that time he was in a state of disbelief that anybody could lust after a corpse—albeit a lovely one.”9 In the Aegialeus episode, the old fisherman talks about the sight of Thelxinoe’s corpse which consoles him (αὕτη με

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8 One may compare the contra-factual expression of Habrocomes at 5.8.4 shortly before his reunion with Anthia (καὶ εἰ μὲν εἶχον τινα ἐλπίδα εὑρήσειν σε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ συγκαταβιώσεσθαι, τοῦτο <ἂν> πάντων ἀμεινόν με παρεμυθεῖτο).

9 G. L. Schmeling, Xenophon of Ephesus (Boston 1980) 68.
παραμυθεῖται βλεπομένη 5.1.11), and this very corpse, preserved and embalmed in the inner room, is further identified by our protagonist as a great consolation of Aegialeus’ life (Αἰγιαλεῖ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ βίου μεγάλη παραμυθία τὸ σῶμα τὸ Θελξινόης 5.1.12). Not only is Habrocomes’ then desire to be buried together with the heroine’s body (συγκαταθάψω 3.10.3) juxtaposed with how Aegialeus treats Thelxinoe’s embalmed corpse ἀεί τε ὡς ζώσῃ λαλῶ καὶ συγκατάκειμαι καὶ συνευωχοῦμαι 5.1.11), but the hero’s recognition of Thelxinoe’s body as consolation strongly invites the reader to recall Habrocomes’ lamentation at 3.10.1–3. In giving concrete examples, the old fisherman, who is in a similar state of mind to Habrocomes at 3.10, provides the hero with a developed model of how love goes further beyond the death of one’s partner. As indicated by Morgan, “Habrocomes knew this before, but he did not truly know it.”¹⁰

II.

Shortly before the oracle has been picked up from Colophon, Xenophon showcases the destructive power of ερως by paralleling the protagonists’ lamenting monologues (1.4.4–7). In what follows I will argue that the hero’s recognition of true love in the Aegialeus episode contains a reference to the heroine’s lamentation at 1.4.6–7, in which she gives an account of her erotic desire at the beginning of their love story:

“Τί,” φησίν, “ό δυστυχὴς πέπονθα; παρθένος παρ’ ἡλικίαν ἐρῶ καὶ ἀδυνάμως καινὰ καὶ κόρη μὴ πρέποντα. Ἐφ’ Ἀβροκόμη μαινομαι καλῷ μὲν, ἀλλὰ ὑπερηφάνῳ. Καὶ τίς ἔσται ὁ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὥρος καὶ τί τὸ πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ; Σοβερός ὡς ὕπτως ἐρώμενος, παρθένος ἐγὼ φρουρουμένη τίνα βοηθόν λήψομαι; τίνι πάντα κοινώσομαι; ποῦ δὲ Ἀβροκόμην ὁψομαι;”

“What has happened to me?” she commiserated with herself. “I am in love, although I am too young, and I feel a strange pain not proper for a young girl. I am madly in love with Habrocomes; he is handsome, but he is proud. Where will this desire end, what

¹⁰ Morgan, in Education in Greek Fiction 174–175, who comments on the use of ἀληθῶς at 5.1.12.

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will end my misery? This man I love is disdainful, and I am a girl kept under watch; whom shall I find to help me? To whom shall I confide everything, and where shall I see Habrocomes?"

Before this passage, Habrocomes’ moaning and the military metaphor in his lament (1.4.4–5) “indicate that he experiences his love for Anthia as a battle between Eros and his own identity.” This figure of the hero squares well with, and takes up the evocation of, the Hippolytus legend on which the beginning of the Habrocomes story is modelled. By comparing the lament of the hero in 1.4.4–5 and the heroine’s parallel one quoted above, Koen De Temmerman recently pointed out three main characteristics of the latter lament: (1) the heroine’s young age is potential obstacle to the social acceptance of her love for Habrocomes (παρθένος παρ’ ἡλικίαν ἔρω καὶ ὀδυνῶμαι καινὰ καὶ κόρη μὴ πρέποντα); (2) Habrocomes’ arrogance is in juxtaposition with the attitude of the enamoured heroine (Ἐφ’ Ἀβροκόμη μαίνομαι καλῷ μὲν, ἀλλ’ ὑπερηφάνῳ); (3) Anthia’s desire to see Habrocomes is difficult to fulfill.

I do not doubt that the protagonists’ lamenting monologues, replete with psychological details, offer “a good example of the importance of lamentations in the characterization of the protagonists.” However, I argue that the heroine’s lament in 1.4.6–7 can only be fully understood in relation to the hero’s response to the Aegialeus story, the significance of which has not been thoroughly addressed so far. There are some motif resonances between the two scenes in question. For example, the end of suffering (τί τὸ πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ; 1.4.7; τὰ τέλη τῶν μεμαντευμένων 5.1.13) is made explicit in each scene. While the heroine asks miserably where she will see Habrocomes (ποῦ δὲ Ἡβροκόμην ὀψομαι 1.4.7), the hero is lamenting that he, despite

12 De Temmerman, Crafting Characters 134–135.
14 To my knowledge, only Laplace, REG 107 (1994) 443, points to the use of ὅρος in both episodes.
his adventure, has not been able to hear about her (οὐ δεδώνη-μαι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι <τί> περὶ σοῦ 5.1.13).

But the most striking feature a comparison of these two scenes brings out is, I contend, the contrast between lust and love. Interested in “how the reciprocal love between the primary couple is constituted in the Greek novels as the basis for an enduring relationship of marriage,” David Konstan has convincingly shown that the love typically experienced by protagonists in these novels stands in stark opposition to “modes of erōs that arise in situations marked by an asymmetry of power and feeling.”15 My analysis of Anthia’s lament in 1.4.6–7 and Habrocomes’ response to the story of Aegialeus should further refine and expand Konstan’s differentiation between love and lust. Not only does the love between the primary couple stand in opposition to rivals’ erotic desire, the protagonists’ love for each other also undergoes a shift from “lust” (ἐπιθυμία) to “true love” (ἔρως ἀληθινός). Anthia’s sorrowful concern, at the beginning of her erotic experience, with the question “where will be the end of erotic desire” (τίς ἔσται ὁ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὁρὸς 1.4.7) is sharply contrasted with Habrocomes’ comprehension of the old fisherman’s story as a lesson of “true love without limits of age” (καὶ νῦν ἀληθῶς μεμάθηκα ὅτι ἔρως ἀληθινὸς ὁρὸν ἡλικίας οὐκ ἔχει 5.1.12). In support of this view, one notes Anthia’s complaint about her young age (παρθένος παρ’ ἡλικίαν ἔρω 1.4.6), which seems to be taken up by Habrocomes’ emphasis on age at 5.1.12 (ackbar ἡλικίας). This argument can be further strengthened by the fact that the hero’s emphatic expression (καὶ νῦν ἀληθῶς … ἀληθινὸς 5.1.12) stands in sharp opposition to the heroine’s uncertainty and doubt at the beginning of her erotic experience with Habrocomes.16


16 Similarly, Morgan, in Education in Greek Fiction 174, argues, “This sort of passion, Habrocomes [anticipating Konstan] now realises, differs from his own equally passionate ‘true love’ in its inability to survive the transience of beauty. The moment is one of revelation, marking a transition from youthful

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I am not arguing for a rigid semantic distinction between ἐπιθυμία and ἔρως used by Xenophon in his Ephesiaca. My argument attempts to shed some new light on Xenophon’s constant interest in the development of the protagonists’ understanding of love: it is argued that the fisherman’s story endows the hero with deeper understanding on what true love is. As we have seen, the relationship of Aegialeus and Thelxinoe is not presented as an ideal: they seem to have cohabited rather than being properly married, and the absence of children and social integration must be significant. In other words, Habrocomes can learn something from Aegialeus without his being a paradigm of perfect love.

Recently, Aldo Tagliabue has made a strong case for “the changes of the protagonists’ approach to love” in the Ephesiaca, especially by juxtaposing the protagonists’ two nights of love at the beginning and at the end of their journey. In addition, I suggest that the contrast between Anthia’s uncertainty about the end of her uncontrollable erotic desire at 1.4.6–7 (παρθένος παρ’ ἡλικίαν ἑρω ... τίς ἐσται ὁ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὦρος) and Habrocomes’ understanding of “true love without limits of age” in 5.1.12 (ὅτι ἔρως ἀληθινὸς ὦρον ἡλικίας οὐκ ἔχει) — one at the beginning of the love story, one in the last book of the romance — also brings out a progression in the protagonists’ approach to love “in which the protagonists move from a transient and merely physical conception of love to a faithful and more spiritual one.”

passion to awareness of stable devotion, and produced by reflection on the analogue of another’s experiences to one’s own: for the first time a cliché that has sprung glibly to Habrocomes’ lips becomes for him an inwardly felt truth.” My argument is based on the attestations of ὦρος at 5.1.12 and 1.4.7. The validity of the comparison might be further underpinned by the fact that (1) the compared passages in question are restricted to the context of the protagonists’ lamentations and (2) ὦρος in singular form occurs only twice in the novel (1.4.7, 5.1.12).

Conclusions

In highlighting the motif of body as consolation (I) and contrasting lust and love of the protagonists (II), I draw on careful verbal comparisons of the Aegialeus episode and other passages in the Ephesiaca. I am not unaware of a potential criticism. For it has long been suspected that the Ephesiaca is an epitome of an originally longer novel. Yet this dominant position has been called into question, if not completely disproved, by Thomas Hägg and James N. O’Sullivan. While the former aptly criticizes most of the arguments given in support of the epitome theory, the latter argues that the transmitted text should be understood against an oral story-telling background, which accounts for its seeming simplicity and its noticeable repetition. Even if what we have is an epitome, then it is more than likely that it preserves some vestiges of the wording of the original; in other words, some verbal echoes could survive the process of epitomization.

19 E. Rohde, Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer (Leipzig 1876) 401, famously conceives of the Ephesiaca as largely “trocken und schlicht erzählt” and the characters in it are “bosse Marionetten, welche dieser stimperhafte Poet vor uns tanzen lässt.” Following Rohde’s Der griechische Roman 401 claim that in some places the Ephesiaca is “fast wie eine bloße Inhaltsangabe einer Erzählung,” K. Bürger, “Zu Xenophon von Ephesus,” Hermes 27 (1892) 36–67, argues that only Book 1, half of Book 2 and the beginning of Book 5 are original, while the other parts of the novel in which “überall eine so auffällige Kürze und Düre der Erzählung” (38) prevails should be attributed to the reworking of an epitomator. The epitome theory seems to fit with the information in the Suda according to which the Ephesiaca is comprised of ten books, whereas our extant manuscript contains only five. H. Gärtner, “Xenophon von Ephesos,” RE 9A (1967) 2053–2089, further grounds this theory largely on observed inconsistencies in the plot of the novel and linguistic poverty in its presentation.


Recently, scholars have argued that Xenophon’s *Ephesiaca* is a more sophisticated text than previously thought. As a contribution to this welcome trend in *Ephesiaca* scholarship, I hope to have shown in this article that Habrocomes’ lament for the absent heroine in 5.1.12–13 is subtly linked, by means of verbal and thematic resonances, to two other lamentations in the romance (1.4.6–7, 3.10.1–3); the comparisons throw into relief the Aegialeus episode as “une éducation amoureuse” of the hero. While it has been well known that in Greek novels lamentations contribute to the characterization of the protagonists, the connections argued in this article showcase the extent to which lamentations in the *Ephesiaca* can contribute to the dynamics of the narrative as a whole.

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