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ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE GREEK ROMANTIC NOVELS: NAMES OF MAIN HEROES AND HEROINES*

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Résumé. – Le présent article offre une approche combinée à l'utilisation des noms personnels des héros et des héroïnes principaux dans les cinq romans Grecs. La discussion s'organise autour de deux axes : a) la base historique des noms romanesques, résumée dans le tableau ci-dessous, et b) le caractère littéraire des noms, qui est examiné avec l'aide d'une étude étymologique, contextuelle et intertextuelle. Cette étude met en lumière certains aspects peu remarqués de la fonction des noms personnels comme instruments de recherche des relations littéraires, des associations historiques et de l'individualité de chaque roman du canon.

Abstract. – This article offers a composite approach to the personal names given to the main heroes and heroines in the five extant Greek novels. The discussion is organized around two major themes: a) the historical basis of the names used in the novels, summarised in an accompanying Table, and b) the literary nature of the names, which is explored by means of etymological, contextual and intertextual research. This study brings to light some hitherto unnoticed aspects of the function of personal names as tools for establishing literary affinities, historical connections, as well as the individuality of each work within the canon of the Greek novel.

Mots-clés. – Romans romantiques, noms personnels, étymologie.

Keywords. – Romantic novels, personal names, etymology.

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INTRODUCTION

The term «Greek romantic novels» is commonly used to refer to the familiar five love-adventure novels that survive complete: Chariton's *Callirhoe*, Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* and Heliodorus' *Aithiopica*. These are part of a considerable body of fictitious narrative prose from Greco-Roman antiquity, which also contains pieces that do not have an ideal-romantic focus.¹ Despite the surge of interest in the study of the novels in recent decades, the use of names, especially personal names, in these is a topic that still invites research which will arguably contribute to our appreciation of this type of fictitious narrative. The present article offers a systematic treatment of the use of personal names of main heroes and heroines in all five extant romantic novels.² These novels form a distinct group, as they share specific common features: the central theme of eros, a pair of protagonists (boy-girl), the standard plot elements of travel and adventure, vague historical setting (or no historical setting), as well as an ideology of *sophrosyne* (as chastity before marriage and marital fidelity).

The romantic novels include, of course, plenty of named characters, but the names of each novel's principal romantic partners are by far the most important pieces of the novels' nomenclature. First, there was clearly already in antiquity a habit of identifying the love novels by names of leading characters – the male, the female or both.³ In addition, names of protagonists are the most likely not to be casual choices; my discussion explores their appropriateness. The present study thus falls under the umbrella of «Literary Onomastics», a nowadays established field of research⁴ that focuses on the aesthetic effect of names. Researchers in literary onomastics are attuned to signs that names are not used in a conventional way and have been chosen for their suitability to a bearer or context or have been chosen with a purpose. The vast majority of names used in literature, however, are drawn from real life, and therefore their function cannot be fully appreciated without the help of historical onomastics.

1. Such works include, e.g., Lucian's *True Story*, the Pseudo-Lucianic *Ass*, Lollianus' *Phoinicica* etc. Narratives that differ substantially from the members of the so-called «romantic canon» have sometimes been called «fringe novels» (a term initiated by N. HOLZBERG, *The Ancient Novel: An Introduction*, London-New York 1995, p. 8 ff.). The suggestion to think of ancient prose fiction in all its variety and breadth not as a «genre», but as a «field» (T. WHITMARSH, *Dirty Love: The Genealogy of the Ancient Greek Novel*, Oxford-New York 2018, p. 15-20) eases the terminological problem.

2. Narratives that survive in a fragmentary state, in which the erotic motif was central (e.g. *Ninus romance*, *Metiochus and Parthenope*), lie outside the scope of the present study; so does the novel of Antonius Diogenes (*The Incredible Things Beyond Thule*), largely known to us from Photius' long summary that suggests a complex fantasy narrative, in which the love theme held a place, though not necessarily a primary one.

3. On titles, see further A. HENRICHS, «Missing Pages: Papyrology, Genre, and the Greek Novel» in D. OBBINK, R. RUTHERFORD eds., *Culture in Pieces: Essays on Ancient Texts in Honour of Peter Parsons*, Oxford 2011, p. 308; 314; T. WHITMARSH, «The Greek Novel: Titles and Genre», *AJPh* 126, 2005, p. 587-611.

4. See, e.g., E. NICOLE, «L'onomastique littéraire», *Poétique* 54, 1983, p. 233-253. F. DEBUS, *Namen in literarischen Werken. (Er-)Findung – Form – Funktion*, Mainz-Stuttgart 2002, p. 12. Part IV of C. HOUGH ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, Oxford 2016, is dedicated to literary onomastics.

Hence discussion here revolves around two major poles: a) the historical basis of novelistic names, which is further summarised in the accompanying Table that presents the evidence from the *LGPN*⁵ and other major onomastic sources, and b) the names' literariness, which is explored by means of contextual and intertextual research. The main aspects of «literariness» include etymological play and previous uses of the names in literature and myth. Both these aspects of names, historical and literary, hold clues to potential links between name-giving and characterisation; a name's etymological significance may reflect elements of character (external appearance and/or behaviour), while previous historical and literary or mythical bearers may function as paradigms or reverse paradigms for novelistic heroes and heroines. Discussion engages particularly with the polysemantic value of names, which can lead to considerable variation in their reception by readers and can influence the readers' experience of novelistic characters and of the novels as wholes. In the words of E.L. Bowie, «Names can evoke a vast range of associations. Dropped into the calm flow of a narrative they set up ripples which persist long after they have first splashed into the reader's awareness».⁶

THE NAMES

Chariton's *Callirhoe* is thought to be the earliest complete surviving novel (1st c. BC-1st c. AD).⁷ The author tries to give the impression of an historiographical work, with the action placed in the 5th c. BC and the appearance of historical figures, such as the Syracusan *strategos* Hermocrates, famous for his victory over the Athenians, and the Persian King Artaxerxes II. But the historical element is vague (to mention one example, Chariton makes Hermocrates, who died in 407 BC, a contemporary of Artaxerxes II, who reigned after Hermocrates' death, between 405/4 and 359/8 BC), and Chariton's plot is clearly fictitious.⁸ The main characters are called Chaireas and Callirhoe, and the plot mainly follows the adventures of Callirhoe after her «false death» early in the novel, which results in her capture by pirates, a difficult moral dilemma and a temporary second marriage before she is recovered by the novel's hero.

5. *LGPN* = *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (various eds), 1987-.

6. «Names and a Gem: Aspects of Allusion in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*» in D. INNES, H. HINE, C.B.R. PELLING eds., *Ethics and Rhetoric. Classical Essays for Donald Russell on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Oxford 1995, p. 269.

7. The novels' exact dates are uncertain, but Chariton and Xenophon are believed to be the earliest novelists, followed by Achilles Tatius, whose novel may be a little earlier than Longus'; Heliodorus is generally seen as later. See e.g. T. WHITMARSH's, Appendix in *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel: Returning Romance*, Cambridge 2011; on the date of Chariton, ST. TILG, *Chariton of Aphrodisias and the Invention of the Greek Love Novel*, Oxford 2010, p. 36-79.

8. On *Callirhoe*'s historical aspects, see mainly R. HUNTER, «History and Historicity in the Romance of Chariton», *ANRW* II 34, 2, p. 1055-1086.

Because of the novel's quasi-historical setting, it is reasonable to ask if the names and characterisation of the hero and heroine might draw inspiration from historical persons. For Chaireas, two possible historical models suggest themselves: 1) the Roman Cassius Chaerea (in Greek: Κάσσιος Χαιρέας), tribune of the praetorian guard, who played a leading role in the assassination of Caligula;⁹ notably the novelistic Chaireas almost becomes a murderer early in the plot, at I, 4, 8-12, when he kicks Callirhoe in a fit of jealousy and leaves her for dead, and 2) the 4th c. Athenian general Chabrias, who had a military spell in Egypt (Diod. Sic. XV, 29), like the novel's hero, and who is described as «uneven and violent» (Plutarch, *Phoc.* VI, 1).¹⁰ Some of Chariton's readers might have thought of the identical Roman name Chaerea, but the phonetic similarity between Chabrias and Chaireas is not strong enough to guarantee a link. What's more, Chaireas is common both as a historical (see Table) and as a literary name. As Karl Kerényi remarked a long time ago,¹¹ this name is echoed in the tradition of the ancient novel: we have «Chaireas», «Chairephon», and «Charmides» in Achilles Tatius; «Chairemon», «Charicles», «Charicleia», and «Charias» in Heliodorus. This type of name is also familiar from comedy, old and new.¹² Chaireas finally occurs as the name of an ἐραστής in Lucian's *Dialogues of the courtesans* (VII) and a bridegroom in his *Symposium* (7; 42; 45). This evidence suggests Chaireas rather as a typified name of literary inspiration, which was not necessarily understood as relevant to the characterisation of Chariton's hero. As a result, the case for the potential allusion to Cassius Chaerea as a dating criterium (the assassination of Caligula in 41 AD as a terminus ante quem for the novel) is not very strong.¹³

The character of Callirhoe, the daughter of Hermocrates in the novel, may echo the real general's daughter, who, however, remains anonymous in our sources (Plutarch, *Dion* 3, Diod. Sic. XIII, 112, 4); like Callirhoe, she was the victim of violence, but she had a sad end, which is not shared by the novelistic heroine. The name Καλλιρόη¹⁴ deserves particular attention, not least because it is very much noticed and foregrounded in the novel itself. We read, for example, at II, 5, 6:

«ἐλεγόν σοι» φησὶ Διονύσιος ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Λεωνᾶν «ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι δούλη· μαντεύομαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ εὐγενής. εἰπέ μοι, γύναι, πάντα, καὶ πρῶτόν γε τοῦνομα τὸ σόν.» «Καλλιρόη» φησὶν (ἦρεσε Διονυσίῳ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα), τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐσιώπα.

9. See E.L. BOWIE, «The Chronology of the Earlier Greek Novels since B.E. Perry: Revisions and Precisions», *AncNarr* 2, 2002, p. 54-55.

10. On this suggestion, which goes back to B.E. Perry, see further St. TILG, *op. cit.*, p. 47-48. Chabrias served the Egyptian pharaoh Acoris around 385 BC and fought against the Persians (a fictional account of an Egyptian revolt against Persia is introduced in Chariton's novel at VI, 8).

11. *Die Griechisch-Orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, Tübingen 1927, p. 171 n. 72.

12. See N. KANAVOU, *Aristophanes' Comedy of Names: A Study of Speaking Names in Aristophanes*, Berlin-New York 2011, p. 38-39.

13. See St. TILG's discussion (p. 46-48) of E.L. BOWIE, «Chronology», p. 54-55.

14. This is the spelling attested in the novel's surviving papyri (not in the *codex unicus*, which consistently has Καλλιρρόη) and printed by editors since W.E. Blake (Oxford 1938). Both spellings occur in historical evidence (see Table).

Dionysius looked at Leonas. «I told you she wasn't a slave,» he said, «and in fact I predict that she will turn out to be of noble birth. Tell me everything, lady; first, your name.» «Callirhoe,» she said—Dionysius liked her very name—and then she fell silent.¹⁵

By IV, 1, 8, the name has gained extraordinary fame:¹⁶

ἦν δὴ καὶ κλέος μέγα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης καὶ ἀνέβαιναν ἤδη μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ὄνομα Καλλιρόης, οἷον οὐδὲ Ἀριάδνης οὐδὲ Λήδας.

Her reputation was indeed great throughout all Asia, and by now her name had reached the King of Persia and was more celebrated than that of Ariadne or Leda.

A name that alludes to κάλλος «beauty» is fitting for a novelistic heroine; there is one Calligone in Achilles Tatius, Cleitophon's sister, who is beautiful enough to be mistaken for Leucippe (II, 16, 2), while another Calligone features in the fragments of a lost romance (P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5355, 5356 and PSI VIII 981; 2nd-3rd c. AD); but in the case of Chariton's heroine, the name acquires a special relevance. Chariton's novel emphasises the heroine's extraordinary beauty, which is compared to that of Aphrodite, with whom the heroine has a special link (II, 2, 6 etc.). There are indeed a few puns between the name and the noun κάλλος:

ἀπαλλαγεῖσα δὲ ἡ Καλλιρόη ληστῶν καὶ θαλάσσης τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀνελάμβανεν (II, 2, 8)
 συνίημι δὲ ὅτι βαρεῖ με πρὸς ὑποψίαν τὸ κάλλος τῆς γυναικός· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἄπιστον φαίνεται
 θελῆσαι τινα Καλλιρόην διαφθεῖραι. (V, 7, 2)
 τὸ Καλλιρόης κάλλος δυσσάποσπαστον τοῖς ὁρῶσι (V, 8, 7)

These leave no doubt that the name was understood as etymologically suitable.¹⁷

Etymology is not the only factor that guarantees the name's appropriateness. The name Callirhoe has an appealing sound (thanks to the succession of λ and ρ),¹⁸ as well as strong poetic and mythical connotations; it is not surprising that Callirhoe's second husband, Dionysius, likes it (II, 5, 6). The adjective καλλιρ(ρ)οος «beautiful-flowing» is used of several forms of water in various poetic contexts: ποταμοῖο ... καλλιρροῖο, *Od.* V, 441; κρήνην καλλιρροον, *Od.* XVII, 206; καλλιρρόου ... πηγῆς, *Aesch. Pers.* 201-202; Ὠκεανός ... καλλιρροος, *Orph. fr.* 2 DK = *Hesiod Theog.* 337. A Callirhoe appears as the daughter of various river-gods (Oceanus, Achelous, Scamander) in mythology, from *Hesiod (Theog.* 351) onwards.¹⁹ Callirhoe was also

15. English translations of excerpts from the Greek novels are from B.P. REARDON ed., *The Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, Berkeley 1989.

16. See also at IV, 2, 11; 7, 5; VI, 5, 3.

17. P. Oxy. LXXXIII 5355 seems to contain a similar word-play: ἰδοῦσα δὲ τὴν | Καλλιρόην ἐθαύμασεν | τοῦ κάλλους] καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους | ὄντων ὑπε]ρανθρώπων (Col. ii ll. 17-21).

18. In the words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 14): ἡδύνει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν ἀκοὴν) τὸ λ καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἡμιφώνων γλυκύτατον, τραχύνει δὲ τὸ ρ καὶ ἔστι τῶν ὁμογενῶν γενναιότατον «λ gives (the ear) pleasure, and is the sweetest of the semivowels, while ρ has a roughening effect, and is the noblest of its class» (transl. ST. USHER [Loeb]).

19. See R. ZINGG in Brill's *New Pauly* s.v. «Callirhoe [1], [2], [3]». The most notable among these is Callirhoe [1], daughter of Oceanus and mother of Geryon.

the name of a fountain in the Ilissus area in Athens, with a Pan sanctuary nearby;²⁰ and of a thermal spring located on the east bank of the Dead Sea.²¹ Some other occurrences of the name in literature belong to erotic contexts: Callirhoe was the name of a Calydonian maiden in a tragic erotic story in Pausanias (VII, 21, 1); of a girl who, quite like a novelistic heroine, excelled in beauty and virtue and was pursued by suitors in one of the ps.-Plutarchean *Love Stories* (*Mor.* 774);²² and of a bride who is cheated into surrendering her virginity to a stranger during a ritual bath in the river Scamander (ps.-Aeschin. *Epist.* X). The relative rarity of the name in historical evidence (see Table)²³ makes its mythical and literary associations more noticeable; it probably had those feminine and erotic connotations that fit the unique beauty and attractiveness of Chariton's heroine. These connotations may have acquired a light character in certain contexts, as implied by the reference to a «Callirhoe» – which some scholars take to be Chariton's novel – by the 1st c. AD satirist Persius (I, 134).²⁴

Overall, Callirhoe's name is more strongly tied to its bearer and context than Chaireas'.²⁵ This may reflect the heroine's more central role in the novel, which probably also explains what is now thought to be the novel's original title, *Τὰ περὶ Καλλιρόην ἐρωτικὰ διηγήματα* («Love narratives about Callirhoe») – a title that only includes her name and not his,²⁶ as does the novel's final sentence, *Τοσάδε περὶ Καλλιρόης συνέγραψα* «That is my story about Callirhoe». Contrast Heliod. X, 41, 4 that mentions both names: *Τοιόνδε πέρας ἔσχε τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν Αἰθιοπικῶν* «So concludes the *Aithiopika*, the story of Theagenes and Charikleia».

20. An allusion to this sanctuary in the name of Chariton's heroine was posited by S.D. SMITH, *Greek Identity and the Athenian Past in Chariton: The Romance of Empire*, Groningen 2007, p. 67-69; cf. Chariton I, 11, 4 and Thuc. II, 15, 5, who notes its use in marriage rites. R.S. Smith enrolled the heroine's name in his discussion of Chariton's appropriation of the Athenian identity and past – but it is doubtful that such a broadly used literary name could serve a specific local connection.

21. Mentioned by Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* XVII, 6, 5, *Bell. Iud.* I, 33, 5), Pliny *HN* V, 16) and Jerome (*Quaestiones hebraicae in genesim* X, 19).

22. Note the word-play at the opening of that story: Καλλιρόης κάλλει τε καὶ σωφροσύνη διαφερούσης.

23. Its 21 instances mean that it ranks far behind well-attested female names in *LGPN* evidence, which have more than 200 or 300 examples.

24. The poet's recommendation for inept readers: *his mane edictum, post prandia Callirhoen do* «For them I suggest the law reports in the morning and Callirhoe after lunch» (transl. N. RUDD). See ST. TILG's detailed discussion (p. 69-78).

25. ST. TILG (p. 162; cf. M. BAUMBACH, M. SANZ MORALES, *Chariton von Aphrodisias: Kallirhoe. Kommentar zu den Büchern 1-4*, Heidelberg 2021, p. 167, on Chariton II, 5, 6) further assumed that the name Callirhoe might evoke the «beautiful flow» of the novel's composition, which largely rests on Pindar's καλλιρόαισι πνοαῖς «fair-flowing breath», from a context that refers to the poet's inspired poetic voice (*Ol.* VI, 83-84) – a charming speculation.

26. Thus all recent editors: M. SANZ MORALES (Heidelberg 2020); B.P. REARDON (Teubner 2004); G.P. GOOLD (Loeb 1995).

Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* is the shortest and least elaborate of the five canonical novels, but it clearly displays the typical features of plot and characterisation and uses personal names with gusto. Like Chariton's heroes (especially Callirhoe), Xenophon's hero and heroine are famous names in their novelistic world (I, 12, 1):

Ταχὺ δὲ δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως διεπεφοιτῆκει τὸ ὄνομα Ἀβροκόμου καὶ Ἀνθίας.
And soon the names of Habrocomes and Anthia had traveled all through the city.

In history, both names are relatively scarce (see Table), and their exact form is an object of disagreement.²⁷ The rare name Anthia is notably attested much earlier than Longus, as early as the 4th-3rd c. BC (*LGPV* IIIB). In the novel, it is accented Ἀνθία in its first occurrence (Xen. Eph. I, 2, 5) but nowhere else in the text of the novel's single codex. Ἀνθία is the correct form, which is adopted by recent editors,²⁸ as «proper names in -ία are paroxytone».²⁹ The name is clearly derived from ἄνθος «flower», a suitable meaning for a pretty, young heroine – Anthia is only fourteen and more beautiful than all other girls. The description of her youth and beauty includes a clear pun on her name (I, 2, 5):

ἦνθει δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα ἐπ' εὐμορφία.
Her beauty was burgeoning.

Anthia is not the only name from this root in the *Ephesiaca*. There is also Ὑπεράνθης, the name of Hippothoos' handsome lover who drowned at sea, whose story we hear in book III; an epigram dedicated to him plays on his name: Ὑπεράνθη ... ἄνθος κλυτόν («for Hyperanthes... the famous flower», III, 2, 13). Hippothoos is a prominent friend of Habrocomes in the novel, and it is probably no coincidence that his romantic interest receives a name which echoes that of the hero's beloved.³⁰

27. On these and other personal names from this novel, see generally T. HÄGG, «The Naming of the Characters in Xenophon Ephesus», *Eranos* 69, 1971, p. 25-59; N. ΚΑΝΑΒΟΥ, «Onomastic Research Then and Now: An Example From the Greek Novel» in R. CATLING, F. MARCHAND eds., *Onomatologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford 2010, p. 609-619; J. GENTER, «Anthia and Habrocomes in Full Bloom: A Literary Onomastic Analysis of Erotic Andreia and Lasting Beauty in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*», *AncNarr* 17, 2021, p. 25-51.

28. A. ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ (1973); O'SULLIVAN (2005). The very similar Ἀνθία was preferred by scholars in the past (C. G. COBET in A. HIRSCHIG's 1856 edition [Didot], followed by R. HERCHER in the earliest Teubner edition [1858]; this form was also used by F. ZIMMERMANN, «Die Ἐφεσιακά des sog. Xenophon von Ephesos. Untersuchungen zur Technik und Komposition», *WJA* 4, 1949-1950, p. 252-286, and J.N. O'SULLIVAN, *Xenophon of Ephesus: His Compositional Technique and the Birth of the Novel*, Berlin-New York 1995, prior to his edition of the text) without strong reason. Ἀνθία (Thespiat, 4th-3rd c. BC, *LGPV* IIIB) must be Boiotian for Ἀνθία (the change of diphthongs to monophthongs is a peculiarity of this dialect, cf. C.D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*, Chicago 1955, p. 153). The fragmentary papyrus narrative PSI 726 includes an Ἀνθία – perhaps a romantic heroine.

29. H.W. CHANDLER, *A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation*, Oxford 1881², p. 28.

30. As has been noted before, see e.g. J.R. MORGAN, «*Erotika mathemata*: Greek Romance as Sentimental Education» in A.H. SOMMERSTEIN, C. ATHERTON eds., *Education in Greek Fiction*, Bari 1996, p. 175 ; J. GENTER, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Further allusions to Anthia's name may be heard in the description of her wedding bed (I, 8, 2) and in the verb συνήνθει, used of Habrocomes at I, 1, 2 (J. GENTER p. 32-33).

The name Habrocomes poses a more difficult problem. Most of its occurrences in the manuscript are with a smooth breathing, which could point to the well-known Persian name Abrocomes. This name was borne by a son of Dareios, who fell at Thermopylae (Herodot. VII, 224), and by one of the four generals of Artaxerxes II (Xen. *An.* I, 3, 200), who was also satrap of Syria and one of the most famous Persians of his time according to Isocrates (*Paneg.* 140). There are several other Ἀβρ- names in Persian, e.g. Ἀβρόαγος, Ἀβροζέλης, Ἀβραδάτας etc.³¹ Other evidence for the name's breathing is mixed,³² but the rough breathing is preferred by nearly all editors,³³ who take the name as a compound of ἄβρός «delicate», «elegant» and κόμη «hair»; cf. the adjective ἄβροκόμης, on which the relevant LSJ entry reads: «with luxuriant foliage, φοῖνιξ E. *Ion* 920, *IT* 1099; with delicate hair. Orph. *H.* 56.2, Nonn. *D.* 13.91, al.; (with play on both meanings) *AP* 12.256 (Mel.): –also ἄβρό-κομος, ον, Nonn. *D.* 13.456, Man. 2.446.». In fact, breathings probably made no difference to the name's significance in the novel;³⁴ readers must have understood it as Greek, or at least as hellenised with an «oriental flair».³⁵ There is a word-play to encourage its interpretation as a Greek name (I, 4, 1):

Λαβὼν δὴ τὴν κόμην ὁ Ἀβροκόμης...
Habrocomes pulled at his hair.

The name is placed near the noun κόμη (though not Habrocomes' own κόμη) a few more times: II, 5, 6; III, 3, 3; 3, 5; 5, 2; V, 11.4-5; 11, 6. This last context, Anthia's dedication to Helios, includes an obvious pun:

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀβροκόμου Ἀνθία τὴν κόμην τῷ θεῷ ἀνέθηκε.
On behalf of her husband Habrocomes Anthia dedicated her hair to the God.

31. F. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 2; R. SCHMITT, *Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr. (Iranisches Personennamenbuch VA)*, Vienna 2011, p. 63-64. R. SCHMITT s.v. Ἀβροκόμης/-ης posits an Old Iranian name **Abra-kāma* from **abra* «rain, clouds» and **kāma* «wish, will».

32. See Table. In *Suda*'s lemma for Xenophon Ephesius the name has the smooth breathing, but it is found with the rough breathing in *App. Anth.* I 224 c.2 (the same Habrocomes) and Aristain. II, 21, 4 (where the name must be borrowed from Xenophon's character).

33. Following the 18th c. scholar Tiberius Hemsterhuys; the only exception is A. Papanikolaou.

34. Note that ἄβροτόνον «wormwood» is found with either breathing (and cf. Habrotonon, the *hetaira* in Menander's *Epitrepontes*). Words of similar sound starting with a smooth breathing (ἄβροτάζω, ἄβροτος) and phonetic changes from the Hellenistic period onwards, when the rough breathing was no longer pronounced, may have contributed to the confusion of breathings.

35. Thus R. SCHMITT p. 64. «Interlanguage assonance» (cf. <https://lgpn-ling.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/lgpn-ling7/about.html#foreword>) probably allowed the name the possibility of a Greek or Persian interpretation, according to context. On its Greek character, cf. R.W. MACAN, *Herodotus: The Seventh, Eighth, & Ninth Books* vol. 1, pt. 1, London 1908, p. 332; W.W. HOW, J. WELLS, *A Commentary on Herodotus* vol. 2, Oxford 1928, p. 230; F. JUSTI p. 2 s.v. Ἀβροκόμης; C. RUIZ MONTERO, «Jenofonte de Éfeso: Ἀβροκόμης ὁ Ἀβροκόμης?», *Faventia* 3, 1981, p. 83-88. See L. ROBERT, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure greco-romaine I*, Paris 1963, p. 232-233 for further defence of the Greek significance of Ἀβρ(o)- names, and F. BECHTEL, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, p. 6-7, for Greek names starting with Ἀβρο-. Note also one Umidius Abrocoma (C.I. Lat. II, p. 611, 4593).

The name probably hinted at Habrocomes' beautiful hair. Hair, both men's and women's, is a prominent point of beauty in the literature and art of Greco-roman antiquity³⁶ and hence a plausible element of Habrocomes' very handsome appearance, which is strongly praised at the opening of the novel. «Mr Elegant-Hair» further suggests Habrocomes as a name that matches Anthia «Miss Flower» – a beautiful symmetry of names, which reflects and complements the characters' romantic compatibility (I, 2, 8):

οἷος ἄν γάμος γένοιτο Ἀβροκόμου καὶ Ἀνθίας.
What a match Habrocomes and Anthia would make!

While the reading of Habrocomes as a Greek name is confirmed at the points of the word-plays, the name should also have carried – as implied above – an exotic Persian flavour, especially if read, following the manuscript, with the smooth breathing. This probability is increased by the already-noted familiarity of the Persian name Habrocomes,³⁷ as well as of Iranian personal names in general, which are found in Greek inscriptions from Asia minor of the Graeco-Roman period³⁸ and in literary sources. The possibility of an allusion to the fictitious Persian king Abradates, of the ill-fated romantic couple from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, is particularly appealing, given also the similarity of the woman's name in Xenophon's story, Pantheia, to Anthia.³⁹ This possibility gains strength from the apparent fame of this couple's story,⁴⁰ while it also forms part of the broader and still rather underexplored topic of the relationship between Xenophon the novelist and Xenophon the historian; but whatever the debts of the former to the latter, learned readers may have made a connection between the two similar-sounding sets of names despite the contrast between their bearers' fates.

Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Cleitophon are the least «ideal» of the five romantic pairs, in the sense that their story does not fully conform to the demands of the ideal virtue of *sophrosyne*.⁴¹ This impression is accentuated by the use of a rather irreverent first-person narrative voice belonging to the hero himself. Cleitophon notably has a much stronger presence in the novel than the heroine, Leucippe, who is presented to the reader entirely through the

36. See now extensively M. HARLOW ed., *A Cultural History of Hair in Antiquity*, London 2019.

37. Note also its appearance (as Ἀβροκόμας) in central place on the so-called «Xenophantus vase», a *lekythos* of the 4th c. BC, together with other Persian and Greek names. See M.V. SKRZHINSKAYA, «Xenophantos, an Artisan of Athens», *ACSS* 6, 1999, p. 281-295.

38. L. ROBERT is the seminal work on this topic. See also ST. MITCHELL, «Iranian Names and the Presence of Persians in the Religious Sanctuaries of Asia Minor» in E. MATTHEWS ed., *Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics*, Oxford 2007, p. 151-171.

39. See A. CAPRA («The (Un)happy Romance of Curleo and Liliet': Xenophon of Ephesus, the *Cyropaedia* and the Birth of the 'Anti-Tragic' Novel», *AncNarr* 7, 2009, p. 29-50), building on an old suggestion by J.B. Bury.

40. A. CAPRA (p. 31-34) lists numerous allusions to it in the works of imperial authors.

41. Note, especially, the heroine's erotic availability in the novel's first two books, and the hero's conscious cheating on his beloved at the end of book 5. See, e.g., the Introduction in T. WHITMARSH, H. MORALES, Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Oxford 2001.

eyes of the hero and remains a rather indeterminate character.⁴² The hero and heroine, who hail from Tyros in Phoinicia (Cleitophon) and Byzantion (Leucippe), bear good Greek names; the use of a Greek name for a Tyrian is not necessarily surprising given that Phoinician coastal cities became fully hellenised in the Roman period.⁴³ Both names have rich historical and literary associations.

The hero's name, Κλειτοφῶν, from the adjective κλειτός, suggests the sense of «fame». However, its precise etymological significance, which partly relies on the name's second component,⁴⁴ eludes us and may not be a factor Achilles Tatius reckoned with, given also the lack of word-plays in the text. Neither Κλειτο- nor, especially, -φῶν are uncommon as name components,⁴⁵ and Cleitophon is itself an attested historical name. The most notable of the several historical Cleitophons was probably an Athenian, a disciple of Socrates, after whom a Platonic (or pseudo-Platonic) dialogue is named.⁴⁶ Achilles' novel is rich in Platonic overtones (mostly echoes from the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*),⁴⁷ while the hero Cleitophon is presented as keen on amateur philosophising and initiates dialogue on eros in the novel, and like Plato's Cleitophon prompts discussion on the use of protreptic and on attaining virtue and justice. The novelistic Cleitophon perhaps carried an echo, however faint, of the hero of the homonymous Platonic dialogue; and it is perhaps no coincidence that several of Achilles Tatius' characters bear names that feature in Plato's works: Hippias, Cleinias, Chairephon, Charmides, Gorgias.⁴⁸ The novelistic Cleinias (Κλεινίας), Cleitophon's cousin and erotic advisor, is notably linked with Cleitophon by virtue of their names, which have in common a starting element from κλέος.

The name Λευκίππη is suggestive of white horses. As a *hippos* compound name, it has elite associations. Such names often ran in families, and this name too may express a family connection within the novel: Leucippe's uncle, who is also Cleitophon's father, is called Hippias (e.g. I, 3, 6), another *hippos* name. Besides, -ίππη/-ίππα is a frequent component of historical female names.⁴⁹ But the name also sounds etymologically appropriate for a novelistic heroine. The element λευκ- may evoke the heroine's beauty, which partly lies in her white skin (λευκή

42. See, e.g., the concise introduction to the figure of Leucippe by T. WHITMARSH, Achilles Tatius. *Leucippe and Clitophon. Books I-II*, Cambridge 2020, p. 22-23.

43. See J.D. GRAINGER, *Hellenistic Phoenicia*, Oxford 1991, esp. p. 185-186.

44. See N.N. SCHMID-Dümmeler, Achilleus Tatios, *Leukippe and Kleitophon. Rhetorik im Dienst der Verführung*, Trier 2018, p. 220-222 for a summary of possible etymologies of the element -φῶν (from φάος/φῶς «light» or φημί «speak»; the latter would suit the hero's oratorical skills – see e.g. I, 16-18 – and his function as narrator who, by telling his story, contributes to its fame).

45. See F. BECHTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 250-251, 460-462 for some examples.

46. This Cleitophon was further known for his oligarchic politics ([Aristot.] *Ath. Pol.* 29, 3; 34, 3) and was parodied in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (965-967). The name also appears in Plato *Resp.* I, 328b; 340a-b.

47. On these, see extensively M. LAPLACE, *Le roman d'Achille Tatios. 'Discours panégyrique' et imaginaire romanesque*, Bern-Berlin 2007, p. 417-532.

48. See e.g. T. WHITMARSH, *Achilles Tatius*, p. 19.

49. An online LGPN Name Search (<http://clas-lgpn5.classics.ox.ac.uk/>) produces more than 100 examples (counting forms in -α as separate names).

παρειά, I, 4, 3), and may further allude to white purity, as would suit a novelistic heroine's stereotypical *sophrosyne*; white colour is an example of purity in Greek thought.⁵⁰ The name occurs for mythical heroines, none very famous: a companion of Persephone (mentioned together with a Melite and a Callirhoe, *H. Hom. Cer.* 418-419); the mother (Hyg. *Fab.* 250) or wife of Laomedon (Apollod. III, 146); one of the Minyades (Antoninus Liberalis 10; she is called Leuconoe in Ovid *Met.* IV, 168).⁵¹ A mythical namesake that bears a close analogy to the novelistic heroine is the Leucippe named in another fable of Hyginus (190), a daughter of the seer Thestor (cf. *II.* I, 69), who is captured by pirates and goes through other novel-like adventures, including mistaken identity, melodrama and recognition;⁵² if this work goes back to the homonymous scholar of the Augustan age, the analogy between the two Leucippes could suggest a Hellenistic folk-tale inspiration for Achilles Tatius' heroine, but we need to be cautious in view of the uncertainties regarding the date and manner of composition of the fables collection.⁵³

The name is further reminiscent of the poetic adjective λεύκιππος, -ον: «riding or driving white horses, Ibyc. 16, Stesich. 86, Pi. *P.* 4.117, S. *El.* 706; of Persephone, Pi. *O.* 6.95; λ. Ἀώς B. Scol. Oxy. 24; λ. ἀγνυαί full of white horses, Pi. *P.* 9.83» (LSJ; cf. perhaps also Bacchylides fr. 20C, 23 Maehler). Leucippe's name may suggest this meaning, though it does not perhaps evoke the riding or driving of just any white horse. The Platonic aura of the novel, which is felt in the hero's name, makes attractive the possibility that Leucippe's name echoes the white horse in the myth of the chariot of the soul in *Phaedrus* and thus represents good desire, like the Platonic horse.⁵⁴ The notion of «white horse» may also suggest an appealing parallel between Leucippe and the goddess Selene, to whom the heroine is compared early in the novel (I, 4, 3), and who rides (or drives) white horses in literature and art.⁵⁵ Three further possible associations were recently summarised by T. Whitmarsh,⁵⁶ which I attempt to list here in descending order of strength: a naughty evocation of the Aristophanic metaphor «λευκὸς ἵππος» («white horse», *Lys.* 191-192) for «penis»;⁵⁷ an echo of a girls' game described by Pollux (IX, 125; cf. already Erinna fr. 401 *SH*) involving white horses; an allusion (rather

50. Cf. Plato, *Philebus* 53a-b. See also D. WHARTON, *A Cultural History of Color in Antiquity*, London-New York 2021, p. 95-96.

51. F. GRAF in Brill's *New Pauly* s.v. «Leucippe».

52. Cf. also the implied Leucippes (discussed by G. ANDERSON, *Folktale as a Source of Graeco-Roman Fiction. The Origin of Popular Narrative*, Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter 2007, p. 26-28) of Ant. Lib. 17: a girl changes sex and becomes a boy, Leucippus; Parthenius 15: Leucippus disguises as a girl. But note that the feminine form of the name is not mentioned in these stories.

53. See R.S. SMITH, S.M. TRZASKOMA, *Apollodorus' Library and Hyginus' Fabulae: Two Handbooks of Greek Mythology*, Indianapolis-Cambridge 2007, p. XLII-XLIV.

54. H. MORALES, *Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius' «Leucippe and Clitophon»*, Cambridge 2004, p. 56; p. 66.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 45 n. 34 (cf. p. 38 ff., where she discusses the textual problem of I, 4, 3 in detail and rightly defends the reading Σελήνην); F. GURY in *LIMC* s.v. Selene, Luna.

56. *Achilles Tatius*, p. 20.

57. Cf. H. MORALES, *op. cit.*, p. 66-67.

remote) to the atomist philosopher Leucippus. The erotic and feminine character of the first two associations seem better suited to the romantic heroine than the philosophical hint. Another possible connection with Leucippe's name may be sought in the Spartan Leucippids, Laconian cult figures, whose mythical abduction by the Dioscuri served as a prototype for the initiation of Spartan girls before their wedding.⁵⁸ The poetic analogy of girls to horses, to be tamed in courtship or marriage, also comes to mind (cf. Anacreon fr. 417 *PMG* and the horse-related erotic imagery in Alcman *PMGF* 1). In the end, Leucippe's name resists a single interpretation, and it cannot be excluded that one or more of the several associations activated by its sound would be noticed by learned readers.

Overall, the names of both hero and heroine, with their grand sound, are appropriate reflections of the stereotypical high-born status of novelistic heroes and are enriched by the literary and (for Cleitophon) historical associations mentioned above. However, in view of the novel's light-hearted treatment of its ideal theme, they may also appear to be ironic choices for this pair of less-than-ideal heroes: for Cleitophon throughout, whose behaviour, often passive and lacking in *sophrosyne*, makes him a better candidate for notoriety than good fame,⁵⁹ and for Leucippe especially in the early part of the novel, in which she clearly defies the notion of virginal purity. As she is persuaded to admit Cleitophon into her bedroom (II, 19), the Aristophanic metaphor «λευκὸς ἵππος», noted above, seems to acquire a special relevance, while her elopement with Cleitophon before their marriage may echo in a quasi-satirical manner the archetypal myth of the Leucippids. In the context of Achilles Tatius' light treatment of stereotypical virtue, a nearly comic dimension may indeed be heard in the names.⁶⁰

In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, perhaps the most famous novel of the canonical group, two adolescent protagonists discover themselves, each other and love in the idyllic countryside of Lesbos. The setting is pastoral, both hero and heroine are herders of herdsfolk, and Longus' debt to Hellenistic pastoral poetry, especially Theocritus, is evident in the choice of the hero's name. The name Daphnis evokes the homonymous mythical cowherd, who features in three of Theocritus' *Idylls*, I, VI and XXVII. In the last one, Daphnis seduces a girl, with a happy outcome, which is like Longus' plot; a small, differentiating detail is that Longus' Daphnis tends goats, not cows. The name's pastoral relevance may be further implied by the mention of δάφναι in the garden description at the beginning of Longus' book 4; laurel trees are found in Theocritus XI, 45 in a bucolic setting.⁶¹

58. See D. LEITAO in Brill's *New Pauly* s.v. «Leucippids».

59. For a summary of Cleitophon's faults, see R. BRETHERS, «Cleitophon ou une anthologie de l'anti-héros», in B. POUDERON ed., *Les Personnages du roman grec* (Actes du colloque de Tours, 18-20 novembre 1999), Lyon 2001, p. 181-191.

60. On the comic and satirical aspects of this novel, which are intensified by the hero's function as ego-narrator, see e.g. K. CHEW, «Achilles Tatius and Parody», *CJ* 96, 2000, p. 57-70. The ironical use of grand-sounding names is a familiar Aristophanic practice (see N. KANAVOU, *Aristophanes' Comedy of Names*, passim).

61. As noted by E.L. BOWIE, *Longus. Daphnis and Chloe*, Cambridge 2019, p. 261.

A pastoral motivation in the naming of not just Daphnis, but also Chloe, is made explicit in the novel itself. As babies, Daphnis and Chloe are each adopted by a shepherd family, and they are both deliberately given names of bucolic sound:⁶²

Ὡς δ' ἄν καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ παιδίου ποιμενικὸν δοκοίη, Δάφνιν αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν καλεῖν.
To make sure the child's name sounded pastoral, they decided to call him Daphnis (I, 3, 2).

καὶ τίθεται καὶ αὐτὴ ποιμενικὸν ὄνομα ... Χλόην.
She [Chloe's adoptive mother] too gave the child a pastoral name – Chloe (I, 6, 3).

This choice of names – bucolic names for shepherds' children – seals their bearers' connection with the adoptive parents (cf. πρὸς πίστιν αὐτῷ «to make people believe it was her child», I, 6, 3) and expresses the children's ensuing status as herders. The names remain appropriate throughout their lives, as they continue to live the pastoral life even after the revelation of their true, high-status parentage (IV, 39, 1).

Like Daphnis' name, the name of Chloe (χλόη «grass») evokes the plant world, but while Daphnis' name is strongly pastoral, Chloe's is not found in pastoral literature,⁶³ and it is a better attested historical name than Daphnis (see Table).⁶⁴ Its bucolic appropriateness consists in its evocation of bloom and greenness, while it was also used as an epiclesis of the goddess Demeter (cf. Horace *Odes* I, 23, 1; Aristoph. *Lys.* 835).⁶⁵ Demeter is mentioned by Longus as one of the gods who look over the countryside (IV, 13, 3, together with Dionysus, Pan and the Nymphs). These allusions, alongside etymology, ensure a degree of harmony between the names of Longus' protagonists, as well as with other names used in the novel that connote the world of nature.⁶⁶

The *Aithiopica*, the latest, longest, and most elaborate novel of the canonical five, tells the story of the love and adventures of a Greek youth named Theagenes and the Ethiopian king's daughter Charicleia. The two names are not heard from the start, but only at I, 8, 3-4,

62. E.L. BOWIE, *Longus*, p. 2; 104; J.R. MORGAN, *Longus. Daphnis and Chloe*, Oxford 2004, p. 6.

63. J.R. MORGAN (*Longus*, p. 6) speculated that it may have featured in lost poetry, such as of Theocritus' model Philotas.

64. Nearly half of its attestations are for slave women; this may be due to a link between shepherd and slave status (cf. Laius' shepherd slave in Sophocles' *Oidipus the King* 1121-1141 and the slave-shepherds in Menander's *Epitrepontes*). But it is worth noting that while the adoptive family of Longus' Daphnis are slaves, the status of Chloe's adoptive parents is not entirely clear (see E.L. BOWIE, «Animals, Slaves and Masters in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*» in St. PANAYOTAKIS, M. PASCHALIS eds, *Slaves and Masters in the Ancient Novels*, Groningen 2019, p. 118).

65. E.L. BOWIE, *Longus*, p. 109.

66. These include Δρύας, from δρῦς «oak-tree» (Chloe's foster father); Ῥόδη, from ῥόδον «rose» (Chloe's mother); Νάπη, from νάπη «wooded vale» (Chloe's foster mother); Μυρτάλη, from μύρτος «myrtle» (Daphnis' foster mother). On these names (which also have rich literary allusions), see further J.R. MORGAN, *Longus*, p. 152-154; 246; E.L. BOWIE, *Longus*, p. 103-105; 108-109; 302.

where they are implicitly suggested as those of the hero and heroine; that is, unlike in the other novels, the protagonists of the *Aithiopica* are not directly named and introduced as such – a trait of this narrative’s sophistication.⁶⁷

Both names have possible intertextual associations. A fairly recent study of Heliodorean onomastics⁶⁸ saw in the name Theagenes potential allusions to two historical namesakes: 1) the Homeric scholar Theagenes of Rhegium (6th c. BC) and 2) the homonymous 5th c. BC athlete from Thasos mentioned by Pausanias (VI, 6, 5-6; 11, 4-5). These allusions rest respectively 1) on the Homeric interest displayed in a part of the novel – mainly the discussion between two other characters, Calasiris and Cnemon, on Homeric exegesis and the poet’s origins (Heliod. III, 12-15) and 2) on the athletic prowess of Heliodorus’ hero, demonstrated in his running at the Pythian games (IV, 3 ff.), and when he fights a bull and a giant (X, 30, 1; 32, 2). Like Heliodorus’ Theagenes, the «goddess-born» (see below), the homonymous athlete is presented as quasi-divine (born from his mother’s union with a phantom of a priest of Heracles); he is also said to rival Achilles, with whom Heliodorus’ Theagenes has a special connection (see II, 34-35 and below). Pausanias’ Theagenes is perhaps more relevant to Heliodorus’ characterisation of his hero than the Homeric scholar. However, much as in the case of the name of Chariton’s Chaireas, such allusions are hard either to prove or to disprove; it is possible (though not certain) that they were intended by the author, but they would certainly not have affected every reader’s reception of the name – which is, notably, rather common in historical evidence.

Charicleia’s name is unusual (see Table). Female names with the element Χαρ- have been associated with *hetairae*;⁶⁹ a link has further been suggested between Heliodorus’ Charicleia and a Charicleia from Lucian’s *Toxaris*, adulteress and prostitute,⁷⁰ but Heliodorus’ chaste heroine is hardly comparable to a *hetaira*. The heroine’s name is explicitly linked with that of her foster father, the Pythian priest Charicles (II, 32, 1; 33, 3):

παῖς μὲν οὖσα ἐμὴ καὶ ὄνομα τοῦμὸν ὀνομαζομένη.
She is my daughter, she bears my name.

67. On this point, see S.M. TRZASKOMA, «Theagenes’ Second Lament (2.4)» in I. REPATH, T. WHITMARSH eds., *Reading Heliodorus’ Aethiopica*, Oxford 2022, p. 66.

68. M. JONES, «Heavenly and Pandemic Names in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*», *CQ* 56, 2006, p. 548-562.

69. Alcman’s Πασιγάρηα (*PMGF* 107) and Aristophanes’ Χαριξένη (*Eccl.* 943) are perhaps the best-known examples, though none needs to have erotic connotations; see N. KANAVOU, «Πολλαλέγων and Πασιγάρηα (Alcman *PMGF* 107)» in A. PAPATHOMAS et al. eds., *Studies on Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature, Philosophy and Culture in Honour of Prof. Andreas I. Voskos*, Athens 2020, p. 120-121.

70. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 552-553.

It is further implied that the heroine was not named by her mother as a baby (IV, 8, 1). Most importantly, Charicleia's name, a compound of χάρις «grace» and κλέος «glory», as well as Theagenes', from θεός «god» and γένος «offspring», become the object of an obvious pun. This forms part of the Delphic oracle at II, 35, 5, which links the nature and prospects of hero and heroine to their names:

Τὴν χάριν ἐν πρώτοις αὐτὰρ κλέος ὕστατ' ἔχουσιν / φράζεσθ', ὦ Δελφοί, τὸν τε θεᾶς γενέτην.
One who starts in grace and ends in glory, another goddess-born: Of these I bid you have regard, O Delphi!

Charicleia's name corresponds to her very positive characterisation in the novel, while Theagenes' name is proved correct when we hear of his provenance from Achilles and hence from Thetis (II, 34; III, 2); notably no human parents are mentioned. In a statement that foreshadows the Delphic utterance, the Egyptian priest and friend of the couple, Calasiris, claims to count both hero and heroine among the gods, while pouring a libation to them (II, 23, 1).⁷¹ At the time of their marriage at the end of the novel, both become priests (Charicleia of Selene and Theagenes of Helios) and receive public acclaim. The two names' etymological meanings thus bear a special relevance to characterization, as is made clear at the point of the oracle and in Calasiris' affirmation, and as is confirmed by the novel's ending.

CONCLUSIONS

All of the names for main heroes and heroines employed in the five canonical romance narratives are historically attested. Naming is in all cases Hellenocentric, even when other cultures are involved: Cleitophon comes from Phoinicia, but his – and other personal names in his family, like the already-mentioned Hippias – are Greek (but the Hellenisation of Tyros may have played a part in this choice of names, as we have seen); Charicleia is Ethiopian, but she is named after a Greek man. Among male names, Chaireas has by far the most attestations (258), followed by Theagenes (190) and Cleitophon (51). The remaining two names, Daphnis (15) and Habrocomes (8, including instances of the form Habrocomas) are significantly less common. Among the female names, it is Chloe that occurs the most frequently (37 times), followed by Callirhoe (occurrences of its alternative spelling with double ρ bring the total to 20) and Charicleia (11), while Anthia and Leucippe are the least common of the group, with no more than 3 examples each; female names are, of course, generally underrepresented in epigraphical sources.

71. The names' etymologies have played a part in an early Byzantine allegorical interpretation of the *Aithiopica* (attributed to «Philip the Philosopher»), which links Charicleia's name with the notions of intellect (*kleos*) and soul (*charis*), and translates Theagenes' name as «Sight of origin»; accordingly, the love story between the two is read as the meeting of the soul with its divine origin. See further M. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 553-555.

Names least used in history are the best candidates for strong literary and mythical associations which are «likely to be untrammelled by encounters with real-life uses».⁷² But the above analysis has shown that, even for the commonest of names, we are not to underestimate the force of semantic motives; after all, as Hägg noted, the categories of significant and realistic names are not mutually exclusive, though different motives may alternate in supremacy.⁷³ For example, historical onomastics play a lesser (if any) part in the interpretation of the names of Longus' pair, which should rely more on mythological connotations and etymology. Many names suggest a combined motivation and reception (Cleitonphon: etymological and historical; Theagenes: etymological and perhaps historical; Leucippe, Callirhoe: etymological, mythical and literary; Chaireas: literary and perhaps historical; Anthia, Habrocomes: etymological and literary).

Regarding meanings of names, male and female names from the extant novels adhere to similar principles and tend to allude to beauty, fame and social class. Daphnis and Chloe, of bucolic inspiration, stand somewhat apart, but they too are sweet and flowery. Protagonistic pairs receive names of positive sound, which is an aesthetic choice but also a narrative strategy for creating good first impressions that influence the heroes' and heroines' characterisation and foreshadow their fates at the end of the stories; positive-sounding names chime with happy plot outcomes and the rehabilitation of characters whose depiction entails some negative or non-ideal features (such as Chaireas, Cleitonphon and Leucippe; the «rehabilitation» of the latter two, especially Cleitonphon, may be satirical, as it does not seem to imply true conversion – cf. Cleitonphon's rhetorically mendacious fashioning of his *sophrosyne*, especially in his summary towards the end of the novel⁷⁴ – which may function as a jibe at the stereotypical novelistic notion of chastity and fidelity). Naming further suggest links and relationships between characters (Anthia-Hyperanthes, Leucippe-Hippias, Cleitonphon-Cleinias).

Names of similar sound and significance may suggest character typification, in other words, that characters are constructed in accordance with pre-existing types (beautiful heroines, handsome heroes of high social standing),⁷⁵ whose prototypical characteristics are reflected in the names. At the same time, names are revealing about each novel's idiosyncrasies, as for example Longus' bucolic names, and intertexts: the name Chaireas evokes the novels' link with comedy, especially New Comedy; the names Callirhoe and Leucippe may be partly inspired from earlier fictitious stories; the names of Xenophon's heroes may attest to his relationship with Xenophon the historian. Names can receive multiple readings in conjunction

72. E.L. BOWIE, «Names and a Gem», p. 275.

73. T. HÄGG, «Naming», p. 35-36. Etymological expressiveness was certainly the strongest motive for the choice of the names of the two main heroes. T. HÄGG (p. 39-45) also mentioned the additional semantic weight placed on names by their use in older literature; but this is difficult to measure as it depends on the education and culture of author and readership.

74. VIII, 5, 1-8. See K. DE TEMMERMAN, *Crafting Characters: Heroes and Heroines on the Ancient Greek novel*, Oxford 2014, p. 158-176.

75. See K. DE TEMMERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 8 ff. on the common perception of novelistic heroes and heroines as «character types»; but he rightly defends a degree of character individuation alongside typification.

with different interpretive approaches, as in the case of Achilles Tatius' novel, which allows diverse readings (romantic novelistic, Platonic and comic). It is perhaps no coincidence that hardly any main heroes' names are repeated⁷⁶ – novelists were probably keen to be seen as creators of new, original plots and characters.

In conclusion, personal names of romantic heroes and heroines are highly important for establishing literary affinities and historical connections, as well as the individuality of the works that form the romantic canon. Additionally, onomastics is involved in broader discussions about vital aspects of novelistic production (*e.g.* the date of the novels; the form of titles), as well as of literary creation and reception. Names of novelistic heroes and heroines emerge from these discussions as themselves carriers of stories that can – and do – traverse the boundaries of their specific literary contexts.

76. A point made by R. BRETHERS, *De l'idéalisme au réalisme. Une étude du comique dans le roman grec*, Salerno 2007, p. 233. The very similar Anthia (Xen. Eph.) and Antheia (PSI 726) may almost be an exception, if Antheia is a main heroine.

TABLE⁷⁷

	<i>LGPNI</i> Aegean Islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica	<i>LGPNI</i> <i>II</i> Athens and Attica	<i>LGPNI</i> <i>IIIA</i> The Pelopon- nese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia	<i>LGPNI</i> <i>IIIB</i> Central Greece	<i>LGPNI</i> <i>IV</i> Macedonia, Thrace and Northern Regions of the Black Sea	<i>LGPNI</i> <i>VA</i> , <i>VB</i> Coastal Asia Minor	<i>LGPNI</i> <i>VC</i> Inland Asia Minor	Egypt ⁷⁸	Slave- names ⁷⁹	TOTALS
<i>Callirhoe</i> (Chariton)										
Χαιρέας	37	61	13	15	17	46	8	61	0	258
Καλλιρόη / Καλλιπρόη	0 2	0 0	0 4	2 0	0 1	0 2	0 2	3 0	4 0	9 11
<i>Ephesiaca</i> (Xenophon)										
Ἀβροκόμης /ας Ἀβροκόμας	0 0 0	0 2 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 4	1 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 1 0	1 3 4
Ἀνθία Ἄνθια	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 0	1 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	2 1
<i>Leucippe & Cleitophon</i> (Ach. Tatius)										
Λευκίππη	1 ⁸⁰	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Κλειτοφῶν	13	21	1	1	6	8	0	1	0	51

77. Note that *LGPNI* numbers provided in this table were produced by the *LGPNI* online search tool and do not include instances from the novels.

78. Sources: D. FORABOSCHI, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum*, Milan 1967; F. PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg 1922; *Wörterlisten aus den Registern von Publikationen griechischer und lateinischer dokumentarischer Papyri und Ostraka* (<https://papyri.uni-koeln.de/papyri-woerterlisten/>); Trismegistos People (<https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php>).

79. H. SOLIN, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen: Ein Namenbuch. II. Teil: Griechische Namen*, Stuttgart 1996.

80. The source for this attestation is *IG XII,4 2:430*, 11 (not in *LGPNI*).

<i>Daphnis & Chloe</i> (Longus)										
Δάφνις	3	3	1	0	1	5	0	0	2	15
Χλόη	4	1	11	0	2	2	0	0	17	37
<i>Aithiopica</i> (Heliodorus)										
Θεαγένης	12	17	12	18	35	23	8	65	0	190
Χαρίκλεια	2	0	4	0	1	4	0	0	0	11

SOMMAIRE

ARTICLES :

Abuzer KIZIL, Julie BERNINI, Pierre FRÖHLICH, Laurent CAPDETREY, <i>Inscriptions inédites d'Eurómos, I : dédicaces et inscriptions honorifique de l'agora</i>	3
Milagros NAVARRO CABALLERO, José Ángel ASENSIO ESTEBAN, Lara ÍÑIGUEZ BERROZPE, Jorge ANGÁS PAJAS, Paula URIBE AGUDO, Irene MAÑAS ROMERO, María Ángeles MAGALLÓN BOTAYA, Enrique ARIÑO GIL, <i>Una nueva ciudad romana en El Forau de la Tuta, Artieda, Zaragoza: estudio epigráfico y búsqueda toponímica</i>	45
Karine KARILA-COHEN, <i>Usage quantifié du LGPN et méthode prosopographique : l'exemple des Bousélides à Athènes au IV^e av. J.-C.</i>	91
Selene PSOMA, <i>The Spartan Krypteia Revisited</i>	125
Ali CHÉRIEF, <i>Un domaine des Catapaliani de Thvgga, Henchir Lamsane, dans la vallée de l'oued Ellouz (région du Krib, Tunisie)</i>	155
Nikoletta KANAVOU, <i>On the Nomenclature of the Greek Romantic Novels: Names of Main Heroes and Heroines</i>	177
Federico SANTANGELO, <i>Falso queritur... L'accesso alla conoscenza nel Bellum Iugurthinum di Sallustio</i>	197
Tiziano PRESUTTI, <i>Quelques remarques sur la poésie de Pindare chez Marguerite Yourcenar</i> ...	211

LECTURES CRITIQUES

Olivier ALFONSI, <i>Alalia/Aleria, une colonie étrusco-italique outre-mer ? État de l'art, bilan historiographique et nouvelles données</i>	227
Pierre AUPERT, Sabine FOURRIER, <i>En l'attente d'une véritable publication du palais d'Amathonte</i>	251
Comptes rendus	271
Notes de lectures	379
Liste des ouvrages reçus	383