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Bibliography

Greek and Latin Novels

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Greek Novels

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Recent Scholarship on the Ancient Novel and Early Jewish and Christian Narrative

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McLarty, J. D. *Thecla’s Devotion: Narrative, Emotion and Identity in the Acts of Paul and Thecla*. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2018.

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Nachleben

Ardolino, Frank R. *Spenser, Kyd, and the Authorship of* The Spanish Tragedy. New York: Peter Lang, 2019. The text contains these relevant chapters: "Apuleius, Kyd, and Spenser," "The Influence of Apuleius on Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*," "Comparison of the Incertitude of Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* and *The Spanish Tragedy*," and "Apuleius and Spenser: Mystery Contexts and Games of Authorship."

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Brown, Michelle P. "Were Early Medieval Picture Cycles Recycled from Late Antiquity? New Evidence for a Lost Archetype of the *Apollonius Pictus*—An Illustrated Classic." In *Illuminating the Middle Ages*, edited by John Lowden, Laura Cleaver, Alixe Bovey, and Lucy Donkin, 4–18. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

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Gardini, Nicola and Todd Portnowitz. *Long Live Latin: The Pleasures of a Useless Language*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019. The book includes the chapter "Deviances and Dental Care: Apuleius and Petronius."

Gray-Weale, Margaret. "Dante and Lucius Apuleius in Alex Miller's *Journey to the Stone Country*." *mETAphor* 2 (2019): 12–14.

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Kallendorf, Hilaire. "Lycanthropy and Free Will: The Female Werewolf in Cervantes' *Persiles*." *EHumanista* 42 (2019): 1–19.

Klevay, Robert. "Mark Twain's Reading in Classical Literature: An Overview." *Mark Twain Journal* 57.1 (2019): 112–132; Twain might have read the ancient novels.

Kreutzer, Tanja. "Die Rustici-Vita und ihre literarischen Vorbilder: Petronius' „*Satyrica*" und die Tradition der italienischen Novellistik." In *Spettacolo: Geschichte(n) von Theater, Fest und Ephemerem in Giorgio Vasaris »Viten« von 1568*, 134–154. Bielefeld: Transcipt Verlag, 2019.

Lugli, Emanuele. "The Hair is Full of Snares: Botticelli's and Boccaccio's Wayward Erotic Gaze." *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 61.2 (2019): 203–233; touches on Apuleius' influence.

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Setaioli, Aldo. "A Chinese Counterpart of Petronius' Matron of Ephesus?" *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 71 (2019): 433–448.

Tomaszewski, Nina. *Walter Charleton's* The Ephesian Matron */ Matrona Ephesia*. Edited, with contextual studies, bilingual edition, and commentary. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2018.

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Zeitlin, Froma I. "Return to the Land of the Sun: In Homage to Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914–2007)." *Arion* 27.3 (2020): 145–176.

Zhang, Rachel Dunn. "A Certain Blindness: Romance, Providence, and Calvin in John Barclay's *Argenis*." *Studies in Philology* 116.2 (2019): 303–327; the essay touches on the influence of Heliodorus.

Notices

15th Congress of the Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques and The Classical Association Annual Conference 2019, July, 4–8, 2019, London

The Unexpected in the Ancient Novel: Style, Narrative Dynamics, and Surprising Plot-motors:

- Owen Hodkinson (University of Leeds, UK): "Metafiction in terms of the unexpected in Greek novelistic writings."
- Leonardo Costantini (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany): "Unexpected variations in the ass-story: narrative strategies and characterisation in Ps.-Lucian's *Onos*."
- Luca Graverini (Università di Siena, Italy): "*Ut mireris*. Micro-surprises in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*."

Who "owns" Classics? Redefining Participation and Ownership of the Field:

- Sonia Sabnis (Reed College, USA): "The *Metamorphoses* in the Maghreb: Owning Apuleius in Algeria."

115th Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, April 3–6, 2019, Lincoln, Nebraska

Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*:

- Mara Hazen: "Intersectionality of Female Sexuality, Desire, and Ethnicity in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*."
- William M. Owens: "The Love Story of Charicleia and Theagenes: Calasiris as Non-narrator of Slavery; as Narrator of Slavery; as Clever Slave."
- Katherine Panagakos: "The Many Voices in Heliodorus' Reanimation."
- Dana Spyridakos: "What's Your Type? Stereotypical Lovers in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*."

Greek Novel and Satire:

- Jonathan Young: "Internal and External *Erōs* in Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*."
- Nicholas Nelson: "Τὸ Ἔρωτος Λῃστήριον: Pirates as Lovers in Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca* and the Ancient Novel."
- Tianran Liu: "Reviving and Revising the Classical Past: Lucian's Appropriation of Aristophanic Plays in *True Histories*."
- Elizabeth Deacon: "Cultural Imperialism in the *Aethiopica*."

Apuleius:

- Rebecca F. Moorman: "Lying Eyes? Autopsy, Credibility, and the Senses in Apuleius, *Met.* 1.4."
- Evelyn Adkins: "Rhetorical Sleight-of-Hand in Apuleius' *Apology*."
- Rachel Dzugan: "Allegory, Rhetoric, and Imagination in Apuleius' *Cupid and Psyche*."

- Nathan I. Smolin: "*Vero Nomine*: The Philosophical Analysis of Cult and Divine Names as Context for Book XI of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*."

Classical Association of the Middle West and South, 116th Annual Meeting, 2019, May 26–30, 2020; Virtual

Panel: Classical Studies 1

- Victoria R. Burmeister (Boston University), "The Out-of-the-Way Novels of Petronius and Lewis Carroll"
- Claire Davis (University of Arizona), "Light and Fire in Apuleius and Lewis' Retellings of Cupid and Psyche"

Panel: Greek Novel

- Ian B. McNeely (Washington University St. Louis), "Melodies for the Syrinx: Longus' Musical Mixing and the Myth of Echo"
- John N. Genter (Baylor University), "A Literary-Onomastic Investigation of 'Manliness' in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*"
- Nicholas Nelson (University of Arizona), "My 'Unmanly' Lament: Gender and the Lament in Xenophon of Ephesus"
- Elizabeth Deacon (University of Colorado Boulder), "Community Connections in the *Ephesiaca*"
- Sara L. Hales-Brittain (University of Iowa), "The Morality of Viewing and Verbalizing in Achilles Tatius and Lucian's *Eikones*"
- Ryan M. Baldwin (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) "Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* in *Passio Sanctorum Galactionis et Epistemes*"

Panel: Utopias, Women in Power, and Pitiable Husbands: New Readings of the Ancient Greek Novels, Aldo Tagliabue (University of Notre Dame), organizer and presider

- Jeffrey Ulrich (Rutgers University), "Between the Clock and the Bed: Novelistic Resistance to Linear Time in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*"
- Hannah VanSyckel (University of Notre Dame), "A Vindication of Chloe: Challenging 'Sexual Symmetry' in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*"
- Cana Short (University of Notre Dame) "Reconsidering Aegeates' Characterization in the *Acts of Andrew*: Sympathy for a Rejected Lover?"
- Janet Downie (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), "Response"

Panel: Pedagogy 1

- Aldo Tagliabue (University of Notre Dame), "Reading Perpetua's *Passions* through the Lens of Immersion"

Panel: Pedagogy 2

- Rhodora G. Vennarucci (University of Arkansas), "Voices from Below: An Epigraphic Approach to Teaching Petronius' *Satyricon*"

Panel: Latin Novel

- Debra Freas (Hamilton College), "Petronius, Poetry, and Rape: *Satyrica* 126.18"
- Ky Merkley (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), "Being an Ass: Embodied Identity vs. Internal Self in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*"
- Deborah Cromley (Le Moyne College), "Vir Bonus or Slave? Risky Rhetoric in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*"
- Sarah H. Eisenlohr (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), "False Forms and Wicked Women: Apuleius' Isis Book and Ovid's Iphis Story"
- Vassiliki Panoussi (William & Mary), "Celebrating Isis: Egypt, Greece, and Rome in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 11"

Society of Biblical Literature, San Diego, November 23–26, 2019

Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative / Rhetoric and the New Testament

Joint Session With: Rhetoric and the New Testament, Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative

Theme: Ancient Fictional Letters

- Gregory Given (University of Virginia), "The Rhetoric of Epistolary Self-Awareness: Between 'Fictional,' 'Forged,' and 'Real' Letters"
- James Petitfils (Biola University), "Beauty and the Blasphemers: Appearance, Dress, and the Martyrs of Lyons"
- Nina E Livesey (University of Oklahoma), "The Rhetorical Potential of the Embedded Letters in Revelation and Acts"
- Seth A. Bledsoe (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), "Missives and Mythologized Past: Narrativizing Identity and Association in Aramaic Letters"

Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative

Theme: Women and Gender in Ancient Narratives

- Sung Uk Lim (Yonsei University) and Kelly Whitcomb (Gettysburg College), "Power in Eroticism: Exploring the Intersections of Gender, Ethnicity, and Empire in Josephus' Esther (Ant.11.184–296)"
- Blaire French (University of Virginia), "Married Women and the Contemplative Life in Ancient Jewish Novels"
- R. Gillian Glass (University of British Columbia), "Burning Passion: Book VIII of the *Aethiopika* and Martyrdom Motifs"
- Katharine Fitzgerald (McMaster University), "The Guise of Judith: From Insider to Outsider and Back Again"

Panel: Cognitive Linguistics in Biblical Interpretation

- Eunjin Ko (Toronto School of Theology), "Joseph, the Trainee Dream Interpreter: Conceptual Blending of the Dreams in the Joseph Novella"

Panel: Religious World of Late Antiquity / Social History of Formative Christianity and Judaism

- Benjamin M. De Vos (Universiteit Gent), "The Role of Greek Rhetorical Education in the Pseudo-Clementine Novel: Judeo-Christianity versus Paganism for the 'True' Paideia"

Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative

Theme: Novels

- Rebecca Draughon (University of Virginia), "'And He Appeared, Standing before Him': Polymorphic Depictions of Jesus in Light of the Human-Like Angels of the Jewish Novels"
- Aryeh Amihay (University of California-Santa Barbara), "Another Sad Calamity: The Tale of Paulina by Josephus as Pastiche"
- Kirsten Marie Hartvigsen (University of Oslo), "The Malleability of Key Identity Markers in *Joseph and Aseneth*"
- Ian Kinman (Fordham University), "The Eunuch Gallus: A Character Trope Challenging Roman Procreative Power"

Panel: Christian Apocrypha / Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative / Joint Session With: Christian Apocrypha, Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative

Theme: The Narrative Self: a Session in Honor of Judith Perkins

- Nicola Denzey Lewis (Claremont Graduate University), "Sex, Suffering, Subversion, and Spectacle: The Feast of Saint Cristina of Bolsena"
- Jo-Ann Brant (Goshen College), "Aversion as a Rhetorical Strategy in the Acts of Thomas and Buddhist Tradition"
- Meira Kensky (Coe College), "Ephesus, *Loca Sancta*: The Acts of Timothy and Religious Travel in Late Antiquity"
- Jeannie Sellick (University of Virginia), "Drunk in Love: Who's Afraid of a Spiritual Marriage"
- Jennifer Barry (University of Mary Washington), "A Bad Romance: Melania the Younger and the Male Fantasy"

Society of Biblical Literature, 2020 Annual Meeting, November 29–December 11, 2019; Virtual

Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative

Theme: Jewish Narratives

- Monika Amsler (University of Maryland - University College), "Narratives, Tablets, and Ostraca: A Conversation"

Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative

- Jeannie Sellick (University of Virginia), "Virgin Acts: Blinding, Castration, and the Violence of Male Chastity"
- R. Gillian Glass, (University of British Columbia), "Goodness, Gracious, Great Swords of Fire! The Judeo-Hellenic Context of Military Scenes in *Joseph and Aseneth*"
- Katharine Fitzgerald (McMaster University), "Trapped: Beauty and Sexual Violence in Susanna and the Elders"
- April Hoelke Simpson (Southern Methodist University), "The Gods and (Dis)Honor: The Relationship between Divinely Caused Suffering and Honor in *Metamorphoses*, *Callirhoe*, and Mark"

Panel: Digital Humanities in Biblical, Early Jewish, and Christian Studies

- Rebecca Bultman (University of Virginia), "Finding a Character in a String of Characters: Using TEI to Support Digital Character Analysis of the Anthropomorphic Angels of the Jewish Novels"

Panel: Pseudepigrapha

- Peter Battaglia (Marquette University), "A Tale of Two Kings: The Royal Motif in *Joseph and Aseneth*"

Panel: Egyptology and Ancient Israel

- Joseph Cross (University of Chicago), "When Storytelling Becomes Canonical: Changing Fortunes of the Novella in Hellenistic and Roman Judea and Egypt"

Society for Classical Studies, January 3–6, 2019; San Diego, California

Panel: The Romance of Reception: Understanding the Ancient Greek Novel through its Readers; Robert L. Cioffi (Bard College) and Yvona Trnka-Amrhein (University of Colorado Boulder), Organizers

- Lawrence Kim (Trinity University), "The Greek Novel, 'Asianic' Style, and the Second Sophistic"
- Stephen M. Trzaskoma (University of New Hampshire), "The Early Reception of Achilles Tatius and Modern Views of Ancient Prose Fiction"
- Robert L. Cioffi (Bard College), "'Full of Marvels': The Early Modern Reception of Heliodorus and the New World"
- Yvona Trnka-Amrhein (University of Colorado Boulder), "Beyond the Ethnicity of Fragments"

Society for Classical Studies, January 3–5, 2020; Washington, DC

Panel: Greek Novel

Tim Whitmarsh (University of Cambridge), Presider

- Nikola Golubovic (University of Pennsylvania), "Freedom and Confinement Aboard the Ship of Lichas (*Satyricon* 100–115)"

- Ashli J. E. Baker (Bucknell University), "(Re)Reading the Roman Goddess Isis-Fortuna in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*"
- T. Joseph MacDonald (Washington University in Saint Louis), "A Letter in a Land without Letters: Longus's Intrageneric Interlocutors"
- Christopher Cochran (Harvard University), "A Land without Slavery: Daphnis's Civil Status in the Pastoral Landscape of Longus"

Panel: God and Man in the Second Sophistic: Criticism, Innovation and Continuity / Organized by the Society for Ancient Mediterranean Religions

- Barbara Blythe (Tulane University), "Ambiguous Epiphanies in the Novels of the Second Sophistic"

Panel: Novel Entanglements: The Ancient Novel in New Social, Intellectual, and Material Contexts; Emilio Capettini (University of California, Santa Barbara) and Benedek Kruchió (University of Cambridge), Organizers

- Emilio Capettini (University of California, Santa Barbara), "Introduction"
- Karen Ni-Mheallaigh (University of Exeter), "Time-Psychology in the *Cena Trimalchionis*"
- Emma Greensmith (University of Cambridge), "Awkward Authority: *Gnomai*, Heliodorus, and Nonnus"
- Benedek Kruchió (University of Cambridge), "Between Skeptical Sophistry and Religious Teleology: The Multiperspectivity of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*"
- Tim Whitmarsh (University of Cambridge), "The Novel and Bookspace"

Obituaries

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Reviews, Articles, and Dissertations[1]

Petronian Miscellany

Barry Baldwin

WETTING OUR WHISTLES

Just as is/was browsing library shelves was a conduit to hitherto unknown pleasures, so it is electronically. Recently, I blundered into a choice of 1530 Google sites, including a couple of Instagram postings by women, devoted to *tangomenas faciamus*, a bibulous clarion-call twice (*Sat*. 34.3, 73.6) issued by Trimalchio.

Martin Smith in his 1975 Commentary (p.73) claimed, "No satisfactory explanation of *tangomenas* has yet been proposed."

A popular one (variously attributed) is muddled derivation from *tenge pleumonas* in a fragment of Alcaeus. Bücheler indeed printed the words in Greek. Gareth Schmeling (2011 Commentary, p. 123), however, calls this "doubtful," leaving the field still open.

One generally-overlooked expedient, proposed by R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (1988, p. 216 n. 5) is to (following Reinhesius) read *tangomenous*.

Both Smith and Schmeling think the words might be part of an hexameter verse with proverbial status, with Trimalchio quoting (or trying to) some popular tag.

Alcaeus and his drinking-songs were well enough known by Roman poets. In snatches from other such ditties, he incorporates reflections on the transience of Life's pleasures. In similar vein, Trimalchio's phrase is prefaced by "Wine lives longer than miserable men," words seen by Schmeling as traceable back to Lucretius. A few sentences later, Trimalchio breaks out into a verse triplet on the same theme.

Overall, then, I think Alcaeus remains a plausible candidate—or, failing this, our old friend Anonymous, or, again, give credit to Trimalchio for a possibly/probably mangled quotation, or perhaps his own words…

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Petronius' first nickname was of course "*Elegantiae Arbiter*"—cf. my previous *PSN* musings on what this actually means.

Dorothy Sayers up-graded this in the case of Lord Peter Wimsey to *Arbiter Elegantiarum*—memory slip or a deliberate plural?

Doing a bionic leap across the centuries, Petronius was frequently the benchmark for descriptions of Beau Brummell, saluted thus by Byron:

"Behold the new Petronius of the day,
The Arbiter of pleasure and of play"—*English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*

One British reviewer of Ian Kelly's Brummell biography described him as "playing Petronius to Prinny's Nero."

Someone (William Arrowsmith in *Arion*, I think) once wrote "No-one would have been more surprised than Petronius to find himself described as the arch-daddy of the beat generation"—be grateful to any *PSN* reader who can verify this.

I doubt Petronius often appears in the online *Popular Science Monthly*, but in v. 68, p.19 he is commended for making the *Cena* "replete with the choicest slang of the Roman 'smart set.'"

Peter Jones, in his delightful *Veni Vidi Vici: Everything you ever Wanted To Know about the Romans but Were Afraid To Ask* (2013, p. 250) translates *elegantiae arbiter* as "the master of Cool," expanding this in his rubric to "Mr Cool—in Life and Death."

[1] The summaries of the dissertations are from the data supplied by *Pro Quest* or *WorldCat*.

Might be tinged by Tony Blair's infamous, short-lived "Cool Britannia."
Talking of nicknames, the Wikipedia list of ancient Roman names thinks Petronius derives from *petro* = yokel—hardly suitable for our Arbiter, though would have been ammunition for Tigellinus.
Jones also offers (p. 248) a thumbnail sketch of the *Satyricon*, regarding its author's equation with the Tacitean as "almost certain," suggesting that it may have run to 20 books and c. 400.000 words—the first statistic a departure from the popular surmise of 24 books, the second merely an unwarranted guess.

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We all know about *Fellini-Satyricon*. Less remembered, though now recalled in Shaun Levy's *Dolce Vita Confidential* (2016, p. 290), is novelist (*Woman of Rome* his most relevant work) Alberto Moravia's prophetic verdict on *La Dolce Vita*: "Il Satyricon di Fellini," a lapidary remark supplemented in his review of the later film in *New York Review of Books* (March 26, 1970—online), describing Petronius' book as "an open novel," comparing him with Henry Miller and Louis-Ferdinand Céline.

***

I have more than once in the pages of *PSN* Cyril Connolly's comparison of Petronius with Proust.
Now (to modify Monty Python) for something a bit different, mediated through Martin Green's fascinating *Children of the Sun: A Narrative of "Decadence" in England after 1918* (1976, pps. 143–44):
"Petronius—of whom Connolly had bought two editions by the time he had left school, two more by a year later, and two more hereafter, because he always thought the *Satyricon* so wonderful. 'I was perfectly right. It is a very great book. Not great—magical is perhaps a better word, and, what is even rarer, it is a humane book.' He describes Petronius enthusiastically as a dandy, a man who idled his way into fame, and as—like the Renaissance rogue Rochester, or some nobleman of Versailles—a poet and lover of low life (Connolly clearly invites us to make some identification between Petronius and himself)."

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All Petronians, of course, know the *Satyricon*'s werewolf story. Some, though, may not have run across the *Compendium Maleficarum* (1. 13) by Francesco Guazzo (1608), which records the trial of a murderous lycanthrope at Dalheim in 1581; cf. Montague Summers, *The Werewolf in Lore and Legend* (1933), and Willem de Blécourt, *Werewolf Histories* (2015) for this and other such trials. Point here is, this wolf man was "a shepherd called Petronius."
Is this some sort of mediaeval muddle? How many Petroniuses were around at this time?
On September 2, 1663, a paper was read to the Royal Society in London describing lycanthrope killings of children. The reader was Sir Kenelm Digby, frequently mentioned in previous *PSN* jottings for the translation of Petronius ascribed to him in (via Sir John Hoskyns) John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*.

***

"But Mr Mercaptan was to have no tranquillity this afternoon. The door of his sacred boudoir was thrown rudely open, and there strode in, like a Goth into the elegant marble vomitorium of Petronius Arbiter, a haggard and dishevelled person."
Thus, Aldous Huxley in his novel *Antic Hay* (1923). Huxley is usually discredited as the first writer to perpetuate the still widespread (*ad nauseam*, one may say) misunderstanding of *vomitorium* as a place designated for Roman gluttons to spew in before returning to gorge more—shades of Mr Creosote in Monty Python's *Meaning of Life*.
In fact, Huxley was not the father of this error. It had (e.g.) been made in 1871 both by French writer Felix Pyat and English author Augustus Hare.
The word, of course, designates the passageways through which Roman arena/theatre-goers gained access to their seats. This is made clear by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 6. 4. 4: *vomitoria unde homines glomeratim ingredientes in sedilia se fundunt.*
Macrobius seems the first and only author to use this word (not in the *OLD*, only here in Lewis & Short), though this rarity may well be accidental. Hard to believe such a piece of slang was not in previous common use.
Huxley read English, not Classics, at Oxford. Perhaps surprising, then, that he was unaware of the correct use of the term by H. Rider Haggard in *Pearl Maiden* (1903): "Beyond lay the broad passage of the vomitorium. They gained it, and in an instant were mixed with the thousands who sought to escape the panic."
I am writing elsewhere (*Fortean Times*) a more detailed account of the sickly Roman subject of vomiting in order to regorge. Surprisingly or not, this is not something that happens at Trimalchio's dinner-party, given a host who invites anyone with his kind of bowel problems to relieve themselves right there in the room. The only emesis happens off-stage, when Habinnas reports that wife Scintilla had "almost puked up her insides" after tasting some bear-meat at a previous feast—he himself ate a pound without adverse effect. The topic is not addressed in Gareth Schmeling's Commentary.

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In 1893, Robert Yelverton Tyrell delivered his Lectures on Latin Poetry for the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation at Johns Hopkins University.
They were published two years later, also reproduced in *The Quarterly Review* 179 (1894), available online.
Almost as an afterthought, Tyrell brought in some remarks on Petronius, justifying this with reference to the "Civil War" and "Capture of Troy" sequences.

He soon, though, diverged into the *Satyricon* proper, concentrating on the novel's various levels of prose narrative.

Firing a shot against its moral bows, he remarks: "As the *Satyricon* is not in the hands of many (what means he by this strange-looking claim?—BB), and indeed ought by no means to be recommended for general perusal…"

There is, *en passant*, a review of rival datings, listing the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Zenobia (that one an eyebrow-raiser), Constantine, Julian.

For good measure, he throws in an ascription to some 15th-century canonized Bishop of Bologna, adding a jest about this "Saint Petronius."

Many will be equally taken aback by his comparisons of Trimalchio's guests' conversations with those in George Eliot.

As many others, he quotes Justus Lipsius' epigrammatic definition of Petronius: *auctor purissimae impuritatis*. Unlike the rest, though, he derides this decidedly mixed verdict as "surely erroneous."

This in particular earned him a vituperative review (*The Bookman* 1 (1895), 105–107) from H. T. Peck, who dismissed his entire Petronius section as an irrelevant "excrescence," sarcastically adding, "Has he really read Petronius?", a gibe recycled as finale to his objurgations.

On this reckoning, we may have endorsement of the Dowager Countess (Maggie Smith) on *Downton Abbey*: "In my experience, second thoughts are vastly overrated."

As mentioned elsewhere in these Miscellanies, Harry Thurston Peck (1856–1914) published a translation of the *Satyricon* in 1898. He was also first editor of *The Bookman*. When not occupied with this and the other classical duties and research that came with his tenure of Columbia's Anthon Professorship, he was (quoting an online source) "a frequent and forceful contributor to magazines and newspapers." His private life well suited a Petronian narrative, being dismissed for his spectacular simultaneous involvement with three women, later wandering the streets in dilapidated frock-coat and top hat, eventually shooting himself.

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Some Addenda to my previous (*PSN* 43, 2016) discussion of the "Sebastian Melmoth" *Satyricon* translation.

First, expand the Bibliography to include Morgan Crouch, "Wilde and Petronius: the *Satyricon* as Template for *The Picture of Dorian Gray*," 2010, online.

As everyone knows, Wilde adopted "Sebastian Melmoth" as his alias; there is an online facsimile of his first (1897) visiting card embossed with this name.

It is pretty well agreed that Sebastian was inspired by the arrow-shot Saint, and Melmoth from the character in his great uncle Charles Marturin's 1828 novel *Melmoth the Wanderer*.

Here, I interject that, a generation later, Leslie Charteris gave his hero Simon Templar the morbid alias of Sebastian Tombs—giveaway initials, surely.

In chapters 10 and 11, Dorian Grey refers to Sebastian and reads the *Satyricon*.

Many have written (see the proliferation of websites) on the influences of Petronius and Marturin on Wilde.

The name Melmoth is ubiquitous in popular culture. Before Wilde, Balzac in homage to Marturin penned a sequel, *Melmoth Reconciled*. It occurs in (e.g.) Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*, also by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allen Poe, and Anthony Trollope. Post-Wilde, it runs the gamut from literary usages in *Lolita* and various other novels, also featuring in the British cult TV series *Midsomer Murders*, as well as being both a magazine title and the name of a British "post-punk" band.

As previously discussed, the classic study of this Melmoth-Wilde mystery is "Oscar Wilde's Translation of Petronius: The Story of a Literary Hoax," by Rod Boroughs, *English Literature in Transition* 38 (1995), 9–49 (online extracts available). On his reckoning, the only scholar believing in Wilde's authorship (Crouch suspends judgement) is the Italian Luca Canali, author of a book on (*L'erotico e il grottesco net Satyricon*, 1986), and translator of (1999) Petronius.

As Stephen Gaselee in his Petronian Bibliography (p. 202 tells it, publisher Charles Carrington (a seedy chancer at the best of times), put no translator's name on the title page, inserting a printed slip in copies sent out that read "This translation was made by Sebastian Melmoth."

Given that this alias was no secret, and that Wilde had died in Paris only two years earlier, it is easy to see why people would, or would want to, believe that it was Wilde's work. After all, he was known to be a brilliant classicist who had published translations from Greek and Latin, whilst Petronius must have seemed a natural interest for him. Gareth Schmeling's Commentary indeed (note on 112. 6) compares a part of the Widow of Ephesus tale with a scene in Act One of *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895).

Gaselee, though, only a few years later (1909), rejected it out of hand: "The publisher when challenged was unable to produce a single shred of manuscript; and his word alone is hardly sufficient."

Gaselee prefaced this verdict by opining "The style is not good enough." More on this later. Earlier in his account, whilst deriding the translator for snaffling from Addison's version and confounding him with *the* Addison (cf. my survey in *PSN* 32, 2002), also for using "a very bad text", indeed suggesting it read like a translation from the French rather than the Latin, Gaselee conceded, "Curiously enough, it is not so bad as one might have expected. The paper and typography are excellent"—these last words might be taken as deliberate faint praise…

Gaselee's verdict is countered (without discussion) by Helen Morales, *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel* (2008, p. 44), who dubs it "In my view, one of the best translations of the novel."

Melmoth comes with an Introduction that in the words of Alexandra Liner & Vanda Zayko, *Translation and the Classic: Identity as Change in the History of Culture* (2008, p. 299), "is largely pieced together from the work of various scholars," citing (note 103), Deborah Roberts, "Petronius and the Vulgar Tongue: Colloquialism, Obscenity, Translation," *Classical and*

Modern Literature 26 (2006), 33–55 (originally a panel paper on the Ancient Novel, APA 2002). Roberts here provides a useful repertoire of comparative passages as translated in the Melmoth and other English versions.

The only edition I was able to acquire was that published in 1934 by the Book Collectors Association (New York). The Introduction is printed as anonymous, and it lacks the footnotes of the original, also its bibliography.

Both in the Panurge (1930) and Delphi (2015) editions, this Introduction is credited to Alfred Richard Allinson, plausibly identified by Rod Boroughs (discussed in previous Miscellanies) as Carrington's hired hoaxer, albeit this seems not yet to have sunk in everywhere.

The Introduction begins with translation and discussion of Tacitus' thumb-nail sketch of the Neronian Petronius, accepted here as Arbiter-novelist, with equally firm denial that the *Satyricon* can be equated (as was sometimes the case) with the Letter composed by the dying author and sent to the emperor.

There are frequent fulminations against the novel's "obscenity," which (given this is a Carrington enterprise) might be taken as parody of Victorian sensibilities. Along with a sketch of manuscript history and excursions into the levels of Latinity (several precise passages minutely examined), there are extensive quotations from a wide-range of favourable modern critics from various countries (America, England, France, Germany), nowadays forgotten or ignored by modern bibliographies: who now cites Beck, Dunlop, Héguin de Guele, Emile Thomas?—all missing from (say) the register in Schmeling's Commentary.

The last-named deserves extra words. Prefacing a long quotation from it, the Introduction breathlessly kicks off, "A brilliant passage from Emile Thomas' remarkable study of Petronius (*Pétrone: L'Envers de la Société Romaine*, Paris 1902, the year of the Melmoth's publication)…" There's a review of Thomas' Petronian studies by T. R. Glover in *Classical Review* 18, 1904, p. 29. Perhaps competing with Lipsius in the epigram stakes, Thomas summed up Petronius as having "assez peu de coeur, et plutôt trop d'esprit."

Two big names occur. Burmann is ridiculed for believing that scribes "studiously included the worst passages," as opposed to thinking them left blank "by pious translators." Voltaire is praised for refusing to equate Trimalchio with Nero; cf. Giulio Vannini, "The *Satyricon* of Petronius in Voltaire's *Candide*," *Antike und Abendland* 57, 2011, 94–108.

As noted, Gaselee dismissed Wilde's authorship because "the style is not good enough." he also noted some borrowings from Addison and what looked like debts to French versions. The same pilfering are set out at greater length by Rod Boroughs, who specifies plagiarisms from Addison, Burnaby, and Kelly, especially in regard to the poems, above all the *Bellum Civile*. Boroughs also detects the French influences, something hinted at in the Introduction's emphasis on work from that quarter.

As Gaselee, Boroughs can spare some good words: "The translation itself is not bad, making up in pace and vigour for what it lacks in accuracy and polish."

I can amplify the above observations. The Melmoth begins with an invented paragraph, in which the author claims to be honouring an old promise to tell his tale, furthermore citing a derisive monologue on religion by Fabricius Veiento. This, with minor modifications, is filched from Burnaby, also from Kelly who has the same fabricated opening.

It furthermore implies a knowledge of Tacitus, *Annals* 14.50, wherein Veiento is said to have published satires against priests as well as senators. One has the feeling he and Petronius might have got along well together—did they?

Same goes for the ending. Both, also Kelly, have Eumolpus sacrificed "in Massilian style," being royally treated for a year as potential scapegoat for the community, then thrown from a cliff.

Likewise, both (and Kelly) have an invented chapter in which our three desperados visit the house of Lycurgus and Tryphaena, the latter said to be visiting with Lichas. Lycurgus is a shadowy figure in the extant text (83. 6 & 117. 3, where there is mention of his villa); cf. Schmeling's Commentary for various suggestions on how he might have fitted in to the story.

Of course, the above, and other subsequent fabrications derive from the forgeries of Nodot and others. Various other translations include them, but bracketed to expose their fraudulence.

Melmoth does not expurgate Quartilla's orgy. Nor does Kelly. Burnaby, in pre-Heseltine mode, leaves parts in what Gibbon dubbed "the decent obscurity of a learned language." Both Burnaby and Melmoth extend the orgy via inclusion of Marchena's forgery; Kelly inserts its Latin text.

It might be instructive to analyze the translator's vocabulary in detail. Can't fully do that here. I confine examples to the *Cena*. Some exotic words and expressions jump out at the reader: "Awmry," "Wraprascal," "Trice Up," "Bowel a Pig." You could live your life without ever seeing these. "Wraprascal" may be of special interest, since it (a heavy cloak, used to describe one of Trimalchio's garments) is used by Marturin of Melmoth the Wanderer (see previous Miscellany).

A few other titbits. "Ware Dog" for *Cave Canem* may reflect this expression's meaning of a dog that howls at night. *Dispensator* is translated as "The Intendant," apparently a French, Portugese, and Spanish usage. "Horny-handed sons of toil" is usually credited to 19th-century British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, albeit there are other claimants. "To prig an estate" (= to steal) seems an old British expression. "I ate my duds" comes from Kelly's translation for "old clothes"—nothing to do with Milk Duds, and (despite Kelly) I never heard the word in this sense in Britain. Another translation of *Dispensator* is "Factor," distinctly Scottish. "Trice Up" (for *adhibete*) is a somewhat inaccurate use of this naval term. "Chawbacon" for a rustic is a colourful term, new to me. Trimalchio's accounts-reader oddly becomes "The Historiographer." "Mammy's milk" is a lurch into Americanese, whilst "Tin" in the sense of "Money" reflects English public school slang. "To Bowel the Hog" (repeated several times) is rather discombobulating. And how many Americans would have known what a "Tombola" is? "Do my does" seems an unusual euphemism for "defecate." In the same vein, *frigori laecasin dico* is watered down to

"Hang the Cold." Finally, the translation misses out "Never listened to a philosopher" from Trimalchio's obituary.
Still, none of these conduce to author identification. Allison (or anyone) could have included them as an aid to deception. The result is a stylistic farrago; hard to see it as genuine Oscar.
As Boroughs said, this translation has pace and vigour. But, that can be said of practically all *Satyricon* translations—of which we have surely had enough.

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I recently (online) blundered upon John Dryden's translation of a judgement of Petronius by Charles St. Evremond (1613–1703), one of many such essays. Gaselee (p. 181) believed his "influence in England" may have paved the way for Burnaby's translation, published the following year.
The piece (16 pages long, obviously cannot here be reproduced) strikingly concludes: "Excepting Horace in some of his Odes, he is perhaps the only person of Antiquity that knew how to speak of Gallantry."
How many *PSN* devotees would agree..?

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In her regular *Spectator* column (Nov. 23, 2019) on Language, Dot Wordsworth illustrated descriptions of the stork by quoting (with attribution) Petronius' gorgeous adjectival triplet *pietaticultrix gracilipes crotalistria* (*Sat.* 55 v.6)

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KENELM DIGBY'S PETRONIUS

"Sir John Hoskyns did enforce me that Sir Kenelme Digby did translate Petronius Arbiter into English."
Thus did John Aubrey conclude his biographical sketch of Digby, tossing in this final sentence without context or detail in his habitual disorderly fashion.
This item was omitted from the otherwise exemplary Petronian bibliographies of Gaselee (1910) and Schmeling-Stuckey (1977), also from Stuckey's "Petronius the Ancient: His Reputation and Influence in Restoration England,"[2] although it did gain a casual mention, without investigation, in her other somewhat different version elsewhere in the same year.[3]
Whatever form it took (see below), this work is lost. The *DNB* notice simply refers to it as "unprinted." I used to wonder if a scoop for some Petronian sleuth might lurk in Digby's family papers. As Christopher Collard speculated about Victorian classicist F. A. Paley, "It is possible that his experiences can be reconstructed from the archives of the Kenelm Digby family."[4]
My optimism was prompted by the crowning of my edition[5] of Samuel Johnson's Latin and Greek Poems with a newly discovered one in Belton House, Lincolnshire (agreeably, my native county), family seat of Lord Brownlow.
However, there is no sign of anything Petronian in the Inventory (consulted online) of the box of Digby family papers (1617–1819), nor in the catalogues of those presented in 1634 to the Bodleian Library.
Modern editors such as Oliver Dick (1949) and Richard Barber (1975; repr. 1982) assume Digby translated the *Satyricon*. The question was regrettably not discussed either by Anthony Powell (elsewhere, an enthusiastic Petronian)[6] or in her otherwise superlative edition (Oxford, 2015) by Kate Bennett.
If it was Petronius' novel, Digby's version would have preceded the first extant published one by Burnaby in 1694. The latter's Preface provides a pointer when he caps some not notably sincere self-deprecation over the merits of his translation with the boast "I shall yet have the credit of the first Attempt." It is hard to believe that he could have published such a claim, had there been circulating, in print or manuscript, an earlier one by Digby (or, indeed, anyone else).
Pre-Digby, there had been published extracts from the *Satyricon*, the first (1655) by Richard Fanshawe, subsumed in his translation of Camoens' *Lusiads*, then (1655) separately by Walter Charleton and Jeremy Taylor. Fanshawe confined himself to the *Civil War* poem (*Satyricon* 118), the other two to the widely-known and popular tale of The Widow of Ephesus, in Taylor's case part of a chapter in *The Holy Dying*.[7]
Back later to the *Satyricon*. Another contemporary Petronian industry was Englishing the various poems attributed (rightly or wrongly) to him in the *Anthologia Latina*. Pride of place here goes to Ben Jonson's rendering of *foeda est in coitu et brevis voluptas* (the pleasure of copulation is gross and brief). The long and continuing debate over authenticity need not here detain us. Digby would surely have been drawn by the subject, if not the sentiment. He was, after all, the author (c. 1628) of *Loose Fantasies*,[8] an erotically-charged romance about his love of, and marriage to society beauty Lady Venetia Stanley, a passion that long outlasted her death. He was styled by Aubrey, Anthony Wood, and others as "the most accomplished cavalier of his time," and was on record as saying "a handsome lusty man that was discreet, might make a vertuous woman out of a Brothell-house."
Another prime contender would be *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*[9] (Fear first created gods in the world), a sentiment echoed in very similar language by Lucretius and Lucan, and in

[2] *Rivista di studi classici* 20 (1972): 3–11.
[3] *Classical News & Views/Echos du Monde Classique* 15 (1971): 1–13.
[4] "A Victorian Outsider," *Tria Lustra* (Liverpool, 1993), 333 n. 14.
[5] *The Latin & Greek Poems of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1995).
[6] *John Aubrey and His Friends* (London, 1948).
[7] For more details of these and cognate items, see Gaselee's aforementioned Bibliography.
[8] See the detailed analysis of this piece by Vittorio Gabrieli, on-line at the Love's Ambassador website.
[9] G. Heuten, tracing the history of this verse and cognate sentiments through classical and subsequent sources in *Latomus* 1 (1937): 3–8, denies authorship to Petronius. J. F. Riaux's on-line essay, *Pétrone ou Stace*?, leaves it an open question.

identical words by Statius, *Thebaid* 361. The question of priority raised by this last is another question for another place, as is dispute over the Petronian attribution. Its popularity lasted well beyond Digby's age. For easy example, see the parody by a "Rev. R. B." in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 5 (1735), p. 47.

Its unpopularity, too. Nineteenth-century religious pamphlets frequently denounced its sentiment ("an ignoble and unworthy conception," raved one), carried away into false attributions, for example Epicurus (wrong language) and Lucretius (wrong metre).[10]

Most to the point, though, may be Digby's quoting of its opening words in one of his archival papers.[11]

The third contenders are the two poems on Dreams attributed to Petronius, with translations ranging over three hundred years recently selected (there are more) and collected by Stuart Gillespie (2018, Glasgow), including one by William King (1663–1712) and several from the following century.

Hand-in-hand with delineating the rising impact of Petronius on Restoration England, Stuckey in the first of her above-mentioned articles well shows the equal éclat of Epicurus, of whose beliefs Petronius was thought a notable exponent. This fits Digby well. His correspondence with Pierre Gassendi, pioneer of European atomism at that time, helped Digby to produce his scientific *Two Treatises* (1644), cardinal in securing his election (1663) to the Royal Society, along with Aubrey and Hoskyns, and winning modern praise as the first Englishman to lay out a full exposition of Atomism.[12] Nearer to his own time, he had already been hailed in John Pointer's *Oxoniensis Academia* (1749, p. 186) as the "Magazine of All Arts and Sciences" and "the Ornament of this Nation." Compliments not all that dissimilar from Tacitus' labelling him (*Annals* 16.18) as Nero's *elegantiae arbiter*.

These accolades are enhanced by the young Abraham Cowley dedicating his schoolboy composition *Love's Riddle* to Digby. Recording this in his *Life* of the poet (ch. 9), Johnson remarks "of whose acquaintance all his contemporaries seem to have been ambitious."

Counterpointing Stuckey is Gaselee's demonstration of the dearth of English interest in Petronius before 1600, largely owed to the lack of native editions and translations. And, even as his impact started to be felt, it was still long without these: every seventeenth-century edition listed by Gaselee is continental.

Petronian influence was not confined to literature. Anthony à Wood mentions in *Athenae Oxonienses* (vol. 5, pts 1–2, p. 72) that John Wilson (1594–1673) set music to an unspecified fragment of "the Arbiter." Apparently never published, score is in the Bodleian.[13]

Another often overlooked example of Period Petronian interest is his leading presence in the list of ancient martyrs assembled by John Donne in his *Biathanatos*.

The same impulses that may have led Digby to the *foeda voluptas* poem equally conduce to the *Satyricon*. So also does his cook-book, published posthumously from his notes in 1669 under the prolix title *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenselme Digbie Kt. Opened*. This appellation may look odd, but when John Wallis published the Letters of Charles I, it was (so Aubrey) labelled *The King's Cabinet Opened*.

Obviously, an interest in cookery consorts well with the exotic, indeed sometimes fantasticated, dishes in the *Cena Trimalchionis*. The text of this longest complete segment of the *Satyricon* was discovered at Trau, rushed into print in 1664, later re-edited and published at Amsterdam in 1669 by the somewhat mysterious Michael Hadrianides.[14] Equally obscure is a 1692 edition by Reginald Leers at Rotterdam, listed by Gaselee, whereas Schmeling-Stuckey doubted it was ever published.

However, Dryden in his *Discourse on Satire* (1692–1693) has the following statement: "Petronius Arbiter, whose Satire, they say, is now printing in Holland, wholly recover'd, and made complete: When 'tis made publick, it will easily be seen by any one sentence, whether it be suppositious or genuine."

Dryden is showing full awareness of contemporary bitter debates as to whether the news discovery was real or forgery; François Nodot's fabrications, rushed out in 1691, quickly detected though destined to deceive many, exacerbated controversy.

One presumes the edition-in-press Dryden was referring to was that of the above-mentioned Leers. If so, it may possibly suggest that this shadowy text got at least underway.

Johanna Stuckey opined that this was the age "When a young man like Kenelm Digby could, for sheer pleasure, dabble in translating the Arbiter." There is no warrant for assuming his was a juvenile hobby. Quite the contrary, it will be suggested.

Stuckey was here arguing that it was about 1690 that "gone were the days" when the above might be happening. A curious remark, considering that Burnaby's pioneering translation appeared only four years later, and that English interest, marked by editions and versions proliferated in the eighteenth century.

Digby died in 1665, one year after the Trau publication. At least as feasible as Stuckey's is the notion that he might have been prompted by the new *Satyricon* to start work. Perhaps death cut

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[10] Respectively in *The United Presbyterian Magazine* 4 (1864), 79, and *Educational Times* 22 (1883), 172.

[11] *Codices a viro claríssimo Kenelm Digby anno 1634-donatos* (Oxford, 1883), vol. 9, 184.

[12] Robert Kargon, *Atomism in England from Hariot to Newton* (Oxford/New York, 1966), 66–67, a compliment endorsed by Han Thomas Adriaenssen & Saander de Boer, "Between Atoms and Forms: Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics in Kenelm Digby," an on-line essay forthcoming in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*.

[13] Another kind of Petronian glimpse is his presence as first of the ancient martyrs listed in John Donne's *Biathanatos*. See Don Cameron Allen, "Donne's Suicides," *Modern Language Notes* 56 (1941): 129–133.

[14] Some Petronian scholars think the name is a pseudonym, without any thoughts as to why this would have been necessary. See my investigations in *Petronian Society Newsletter* 32 (2002), 14–16, and 37 (2007), 39, on-line.

him short, leaving his work unfinished and unprinted. As Aubrey pertinently remarks of Nicholas Hill: "His writings had the usual fate of those not printed in the author's lifetime."

Digby was certainly a quick worker. In 1642 he acquired a pirated advance copy of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, read it, and wrote his own book-length (124 pages) reply (*Observations*) in the space of twenty-four hours.

Aubrey's informant, Sir John Hoskyns, was well-placed to assess and monitor Digby's classical activities, being as his biographer says, "a great master of the Latin and Greek language." At Winchester, he shone in Latin Verse Composition. During his time at New College, Oxford, he was appointed official jester; his title *Terrae filius* is actually a Petronian one (*Satyr.* 43. 5). Hoskyns' performance was "so bitterly satyrical that he was expelled and put to his shifts." These included a year's school teaching in Somerset where Aubrey states "he compiled a Greek Lexicon as far as M, which I have seen." This has sadly gone the same way as Digby's Petronius. One thinks here of Thomas Cooper, whose half-finished Latin Dictionary was thrown into the fire by his disaffected wife. Undaunted, he redid it, leaving what Aubrey calls "a most useful work."

A Latin Dictionary was begun in his blind years by John Milton. Aubrey says this work was "imperfect," given with other papers by his widow to a nephew. Aubrey also states it was in the hands of bookseller Moses Pitt. However, Milton's biographer, Edward Philips, states that "the papers were so discomposed and deficient, that it could not be made fit for the press"; see Bennett's exhaustive note (vol. 2, p.1627). Another possible fate for Digby's Petronius?

It might also have shared the fate of Thomas Randolph's verses on Christ: "never printed, kept as a rarity."

A cognate possibility is Aubrey's vain search for the young Thomas Hobbes' Latin verse translation of Euripides' *Medea*, concluding that it, with other papers, had been "devoured by the oven."

Hoskyns did not lose his scurrilous talent, later writing and publishing verses "on the fart in the Parliament house," a famous incident of 1607 which naturally inspired a host of comic couplets. This malodorous episode also has a Petronian counterpart in the wind-breaking contest at *Satyricon* 117.12–13.[15]

No tidy conclusion. Suffice it to say that, for all the reasons advanced in this essay, there is no cause to doubt Hoskyns or Aubrey, and that whatever part of Petronius he translated at whatever period of his life, Sir Kenelm Digby deserves to be in every future bibliography of the Arbiter.[16]

[15] See Michelle O' Callaghan, "Performing Politics: The Circulation of the 'Parliament Fart,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69 (2006): 121–138. Also, for a full discussion with poetic extracts, see the online essay by Alastair Bellamy and Andrew McRae on the Early Stuart Libels website. On wind-breaking in history and literature, see my "Old Farts," *Fortean Times* 192 (2005): 17.

[16] Also his biographies. For easy instance, no sign of it in the one by Thomas Longueville (London, 1896). Chief expert in this field currently is Joe Moshenshka at University College, Oxford.

Cochran, Christopher George. 2020. *Enslavement and Return in the Ancient Novel*. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.

This dissertation examines the theme of enslavement and return from enslavement as a frame for the return narrative (*nostos*) of the ancient Greek and Roman novel, with a particular focus on the role of the Greek and Roman law of slavery. Building on a growing body of scholarship on slavery in the novels (including the work of William Owens, Keith Bradley, William Fitzgerald, and John Bodel, among others), I argue that enslavement complicates the texts' ability to reach narrative closure. The *telos* of a typical novelistic narrative is the chaste, lawful marriage of the protagonists, but both their chastity and the lawfulness of their marriage is threatened by their enslavement. The frame is the Roman legal concept of *postliminium*, the rights of return of a citizen enslaved abroad. Of particular relevance is the rule that a marriage could not be recovered through *postliminium* (Dig. 49.15.12.4). My reading of return from enslavement in the novels complicates Bakhtin's view that the novels' protagonists are not changed by their adventures.

Chapter 1 explores the theme of enslavement in the novels of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus. In this chapter, I apply a distinction between reading for the *telos* of the text and reading for the middle. Teleological readings emphasize the continuity of the protagonists' internal freedom, whereas reading for the middle emphasizes the reality of their external enslavement. Chapter 2 examines the theme of return from enslavement in the same four Greek novels. Applying the concept of *postliminium*, I argue that the novels use the law to problematize the protagonists' return. Chapter 3 compares the novels of Longus and Petronius, which both construct fictional social underworlds that subvert conventional ideologies of slavery. Chapter 4 examines the return narrative in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. In this chapter, I argue that Lucius' return to humanity is framed as a metaphorical manumission. Just as a Roman freedperson acquired Roman citizenship, Lucius' metaphorical manumission is connected to his transposition to Rome at the end of the text. In this way, manumission becomes a model for the translation of the text from Greek to Latin.

Lang, A. E. 2020. *Emotion and Plot in Xenophon's* Ephesiaka. Ph.D. diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

The ancient Greek novel *Ephesiaka* contains two long inset narratives, both tales of erotic suffering that mirror the romance of the main story's protagonists. This study examines how the inset narratives contribute to an "emotional plot" through the

repetition of verbal motifs of emotion, and how the novel's deliberately simple style characterizes *eros* through the cumulative alternation of verbal motifs throughout individual episodes. The *Ephesiaka's* plot-focused and formulaic style articulates an emotional plot inextricable from the action plot, prioritizing the visible expression of emotions rather than internal states or conflicts. While this style can be considered "paraliterary" because it guides the reader overtly in its description of outward action, the unobtrusive narration provides little value judgement, leading to modern critical disagreement about how the novel characterizes the different forms of *eros* portrayed in the inset narratives.

Moorman, Rebecca. 2020. *Engrossing the Reader: Delight and Disgust in Latin Literature*. Ph.D. diss., The University of Wisconsin – Madison.

This dissertation examines the role of disgust in Latin literature. I argue that disgust functions as an aesthetic emotion that engages the reader on a visceral level to offer both pleasure and instruction. In contrast to a more regularly recognized aesthetic in Latin literature premised on detachment, ascension, or even abandonment, I demonstrate that the Roman authors in this study developed a positive sensory-based literary experience founded on the negative emotion of disgust. As strongly as it repulses, disgust can also fascinate and delight, facilitating self-knowledge and enlightenment through the transgression of physical and societal limitations. I explore the engrossing and empowering nature of disgust in three authors: Lucretius, Persius, and Apuleius. Each author represents a different literary genre, time period, and philosophical school, yet all utilize aesthetic disgust to instruct and delight their audiences.

In each author, the reader's affective appreciation of disgust is a demonstration of virtue according to the philosophical views of that author. In Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, the poet guides readers to overcome their fear and disgust at death through active engagement with disgusting objects, culminating in the account of the plague that concludes the poem. Persius' *Satires* offer multiple levels of engagement and aesthetic appreciation, creating an appropriate affective response of disgust even for the Stoic student and sage. Finally, disgust in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is a central component of the prologue's promise of pleasure, facilitating an aporetic loop of aesthetic appreciation and philosophical investigation. Roman society often represents itself in literature and philosophy as anti-sensory. But in these three authors, we find both philosophical and aesthetic value in the sensory-based appreciation of disgust.

Nelson, Nicholas P. 2020. *Lament Scenes in Xenophon of Ephesus: A Study in Self-fashioning*. Ph.D. diss., The University of Arizona.

Scholars often exclude Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* from consideration with texts of the so-called Second Sophistic due to its style. Recent scholarship, especially by Whitmarsh (2001, 2005, 2011), sees a concern with identity to be an important characteristic of Imperial Greek literature. This thesis analyzes the protagonists' lament scenes of Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* in order to see how Anthia and Habrocomes define their identities and interrogate different facets of their identities. Aelius Theon (*Prog.* 115–6) provides a useful discussion of different character types which delineates different social antitheses: old men and young men, men and women, slaves and freed people, and people in love and those who have *sophrosyne*. Habrocomes and Anthia interrogate where they stands in relation to these different strands throughout the novel.

Habrocomes defines himself in relation to these various character types frequently in his lament scenes. At 1.4. 1–3, he views himself as being in a military contest with Eros and views his loss in this metaphorical battle as a loss of masculinity, thus defining himself with respect to Aelius Theon's category of men and women. At 1.4. 4–5 he defines scorning Eros as *sophrosyne*, thus showing himself to prefer a definition of *sophrosyne* that is closer to Hippolytus' than is usually seen in the Greek novel. Throughout the rest of Book 1, where Habrocomes defines *sophrosyne* on his wedding night and in the oath scene, his definition of *sophrosyne* becomes gradually closer to the one usually seen in the Greek novel. At 2.1.2–4 he argues that if he were to submit to Corymbus he would be a "whore instead of a man," which further defines his *sophrosyne* as an integral part of his masculinity. At 2.4.3–5 Habrocomes defines himself in terms of being a slave vs. a freed person and states that although his body is enslaved, his soul is free. After he is freed, for the rest of the novel, he does not truly view himself as free until he is reunited with Anthia.

Anthia's lament scenes often consist of her finding *mechanai* to protect her *sophrosyne* from various pirates and others who fall in love with her. At 1.4.6–7, Anthia laments that Habrocomes does not love her, then she asks a series of rhetorical questions which interrogate how she can make this happen anyway. On her wedding night, she chides Habrocomes for her lack of *andreia* and takes the initiative in erotic matters. Throughout her lament scenes, Anthia often views *sophrosyne* as something that she cannot live without and she contemplates suicide as an alternative. Her lament scenes help her construct her *sophrosyne* and help her remember the reasons why she is being faithful to Habrocomes. In order to protect her *sophrosyne*, Anthia often must act like a clever slave. For example, she steals money from Perilaus in order to pay Eudoxus to make the poison (3.5.9). Nevertheless, she is able to protect her *sophrosyne*, and her lament scenes often provide her with the mental resolve needed to defend herself.

This thesis demonstrates that the lament scenes are important and integral parts of Xenophon's novel which help characterize Anthia and Habrocomes. The lament scenes also demonstrate that Xenophon is aware of principles of characterization which come from Theon's *progymnasmata* or a similar treatise. Thus Xenophon should be seen as more of a sophistical writer than is usually supposed.

Rudoni, Elia. 2020. Speech Disorders: The Speaking Subject and Language in Neronian Court Literature. Ph.D. diss., Columbia University.

By combining literary criticism, philology, and contemporary psychoanalysis, this dissertation offers an innovative interpretation of Neronian court literature (Seneca, Lucan, and Petronius). I argue that the works of these three authors thematize and embody a problematic relation between the human subject and language. Language is not conceived or represented as an inert tool that can be easily appropriated by the speaking subject, but rather as a powerful entity that may, and often does, take control of the human subject, directing it from without. Besides analyzing how Seneca, Lucan, and Petronius portray the relation between the human subject and language in the internal plots and characters of their works, I also explore the relation between these three authors themselves and language. My conclusion is that this relation is defined by unresolved ambiguities and neurotic tensions, and I suggest that this might be a consequence of the traumatizing circumstances that the three examined authors endured at Nero's court.

Schalo, Kelsey. 2020. Gynocentric Apuleius: Female Agency in the *Golden Ass*. Ph.D. diss., University of Arkansas.

Through a close reading of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, I argue that characters such as Byrrhena, Photis, and Psyche function as positive examples of female sexual authority and autonomy and effectively challenge the phallocentric theories commonly applied to Greek and Roman gender and sexuality, the Penetrative Model associated with Foucault, and structuralism, associated in classics with French historians Marcel Detienne, J-P Vernant, and Pierre Vidal-Naquet. While still penetrated, many of these women actively claim their agency in sex through pleasure and narrative. Additionally, in correlation with Julia Kristeva's theory of the abject, while Apuleius's female witches behave in horrific and chaotic ways that effectively emasculate their male prey, they do not fall within the same topos as other female witches. Instead, Apuleius' witches appear to wield their magic in a way that allows them to maneuver through a gender restrictive society and claim agency that may not be available to them otherwise. This empowerment of the abject is solidified in Isis' role in the novel, which functions to redeem the abject horrors of the novel and establish female supremacy in their role as Lucius' savior. Through this analysis, I seek to reevaluate what 'passivity' means in the ancient world and to challenge past readings of monstrous females through close analysis, not only of sexual dynamics but also of their function within their larger narratives.

Spyridakos, Dana. 2020. *Technical Medicine in Greek and Roman Novels*. Ph.D. diss., The University of Iowa.

This dissertation explores the intersections of technical medical knowledge and lay knowledge of medicine in fictional prose writings in the genre of the ancient Greco-Roman romance novel. I analyzed a sample of seven novels consisting of four Greek novels (Xenophon of Ephesus' Ephesian Tale, Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon, Longus' Daphnis and Chloe, Heliodorus' Aithiopica) and three Latin novels (Petronius' Satyricon, Apuleius' Metamorphoses, and the anonymous Apollonius King of Tyre). These novels were written between the first and sixth centuries CE which provides a survey of literature for a lay audience under the Roman Empire. This dissertation provides a critical reading of the novels to help shed light on how medicine was perceived and represented by laypersons and to reveal what aspects of medical knowledge became widespread cultural knowledge.

Heliodorus, Apuleius, and Achilles Tatius display more advanced knowledge of medicine than other novelists. In their novels we can identify social practices of the medical field, such as multiple consultation, and the many varieties of medical options available to patients, such as religious, magical, folk, and philosophical healing. They also provide examples of laypersons' perceptions and treatments of diseases other than lovesickness, such as madness and rabies.

Xenophon of Ephesus, Apollonius King of Tyre, Longus, and Petronius reference medicine primarily as a social construct. The forms of medicine represented in these novels are typically folk remedies and lay attitudes towards doctors and the medical profession, and lovesickness is the main connection to medicine. The healers of these novels are generic and likely reflect laypersons' perception of real doctors.

My work shows that novelists who putatively lived near large cities that attracted intellectuals such as Athens, Rome, Alexandria, and Ephesus, included more advanced and current medical knowledge than their more rural counterparts. Across all novels the idealized concept of lovesickness as a medical illness was canonized, and other healing practices involving rabies, certain types of madness, and basic first aid were integrated into society as cultural knowledge.

Williams, Kristen Ruth. 2020. *The Marriage of Love and Soul: Eros and Psyche in Couples Therapy*. Ph.D. diss., Pacifica Graduate Institute.

This hermeneutic research explores couples therapy from a Jungian approach with both classical and archetypal lenses using the myth of Eros and Psyche as the guiding mythopoetic image. It challenges Hera and Zeus as the traditional myth of marriage, and examines the encounter of love and soul depicted in the Eros and Psyche myth as an alternative. Issues such as shadow material, projection, power struggles, unconscious relational expectations, and the tension of opposites are discussed as represented in the myth and as dynamics in relationship and couples therapy. Individual individuation processes, including meeting of one's own needs and expectations as opposed to conflict negotiation, are considered as an effective approach to therapeutic work with couples, and are juxtaposed with Psyche's experience. Jung's concept of the transcendent function is examined as a more effective means of dealing with conflict.

Teaching couples how to both discern and engage archetypal energies in themselves and within their relationship is also presented. Additionally, alchemical images are explored as demonstrative of the perpetual dance of death, transformation, and rebirth, which can be understood as the coupling and uncoupling movements present in all intimate relationships. The birth of pleasure, as portrayed at the conclusion of the Psyche and Eros myth, is considered as an alternative goal for partnership to the traditional one of mere longevity.