
THE PETRONIAN SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

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Vol. 24, Nos. 1 & 2
June 1994

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Bauer, J., "MATAUITATAU (Petron. *Sat.* 62,9)," *RhM* 136 (1993) 94. "Ich schlage vor, *manu velata*{u} zu lesen und erkläre das *u* am Schluss als Dittographie zum folgenden *umbras*."

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Bodel, J., "Trimalchio's Underworld," *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. J. Tatum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994) 237-259. "In linking Trimalchio's vision of a divine transformation to the mundane reality of manumission, the central image of the culminating scene in Trimalchio's pictorial autobiography [*Sat.* 29.3-6] represents in microcosm the complex thematic consistency of the whole: visual image and verbal description coincide to characterize Trimalchio's world as an underworld of ex-slaves. Encolpius and his companions, posing as freeborn *scholastici*, declamation buffs (10.6), or, in Giton's case, a slave, are outsiders to this cultural milieu. That is why Petronius can represent their visit to Trimalchio's home as a catabasis: the underworld into

which they have tumbled is an underworld defined by civil status, an underworld of freedmen." (p. 251)

Bona, I., "Ancora una nota su *oclopetta* (Petr., *Satyr.* 35,4)," *RCCM* 33 (1991) 185-191.

Borghini, A., "Lupo Mannaro: il Tempo della Metamorfofi (Petr. *Satyr.* LXII 3)," *Aufidus* 14 (1991) 29-32. The *miles* becomes a *lupus* at *circa gallicinia*. In Greek the crack of dawn is *λυκόφως* and *λυκαυγές*, the time for wolves to see.

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Conte, G.B., "Petronio, *Sat.* 141: una Congettura e un' Interpretazione," *RFIC* 120 (1992) 300-312. At *Sat.* 141.8 for *corrumpitur* read *corrigitur*. "Per attaccare l'arte sofistica della parola la 'cultura anti-sofistica l'aveva dunque paragonata, polemicamente ad una cucina della parola. Un' idea vulgata, questa, che Gorgia l'*heredipeta* fa propria. Pronto a mangiare e a far mangiare carne umana, nonché a *invenire* i necessari *blandimenta*, egli richiama parodisticamente col suo

nome il grande sofista che da Platone in poi era stato considerato (per caricatura polemica) come l' *inventor* di un'arte degradata del tutto analoga alla pseudo-arte della culinaria." (p. 311)

Danese, R., "Il Ritorno dell'eroe in patria: quasi una postilla (Petronio, *Satyricon* 114-115)," *StudUrb* 62 (1989) 213-220. Motifs on Ulysses and Encolpius.

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Goldhill, S., *Foucault's Virginity: Male Sexuality and Ancient Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Forthcoming

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Hofmann, H., ed., *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel 5* (1993). Groningen, Egbert Forsten, XI +183pp., \$37. N. Holzberg, "A Lesser Known 'Picaresque' Novel of Greek Origin: The *Aesop Romance* and its Influence," pp. 1-6; D. Schenkeveld, "The Lexicon of the Narrator and his Characters: Some Aspects of Syntax and Choice of Words in Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*," pp. 17-30; T. McCreight, "Sacrificial Ritual in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," pp. 31-61; C. Schlam, "Cupid and Psyche: Folktale and Literary Narrative," pp. 63-73; W. Smith, "Interlocking of Theme and Meaning in *The Golden Ass*," pp. 75-89; K. Dowden, "The Unity of Apuleius' Eighth Book and the Danger of Beasts," pp. 91-109; H. Hofmann, "Die Flucht des Erzählers: Narrative Strategien in den Ehebruchsgeschichten von Apuleius' *Goldenem Esel*," pp. 111-141; M. Zimmerman-de Graaf, "Narrative Judgment and Reader Response in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 10, 29-34: the Pantomime of the Judgment of Paris," pp. 143-161; G. Sandy, "West Meets East: Western Students in Athens in the Mid-Second Century A.D.," pp. 163-174.

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biography of a slave to survive from the ancient world. This slave biography is a satirical fiction, the so-called *Life of Aesop...*"

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Morgan, J.R. and Stoneman, Richard, *Greek Fiction: the Greek Novel in Context* (London: Routledge, 1994). 16 essays by various scholars on subjects from the *Cyropaedia* to the Byzantine novel. See note below by B.P. Reardon.

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Petrone, G. "Tempo e metamorphosi nel *Satyricon* di Petronio," *Studi di Filologia Classica in Onore di Giusto Monaco*, Vol. 3 *Letteratura Latina dell' Età di Tiberio all' Età del Basso Impero* (Palermo: Università di Palermo, 1991) 1163-1173.

Petroni, Satiricó, trad. (into Catalan) by Albert

Berrio and Romà Giró (Barcelona: Columna, 1988).

Petronio Arbitro Sayricon, traduzione di Edoardo Sanguinetti, illustrazioni di Bruno Cassinari (Milano: Aldo Palazzi Editore, 1969) 136 pp., 26x35 cm, in XVI signatures. With 41 black and white and color drawings. Opposite the title page is the announcement: "Destinata ai lettori di *Tempo*, questa edizione fuori commercio, del *Satyricon* di Petronio Arbitro, si avvale della traduzione originale di Edoardo Sanguinetti ed è illustrata con tavole espressamente create dal pittore Bruno Cassinari."

Petronius, the Satyricon, trans. into Russian under director B.I. Arho (Moscow: Pravda, 1991). Together with Apuleius' *Golden Ass*.

Relihan, J., *Ancient Menippean Satire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). Chapter on "Petronius", pp. 91-99.

Romm, J., *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). Chapter 5 is entitled "Geography and Fiction", pp. 172-214; especially for Antonius Diogenes and Lucian's *True Histories*.

Ruland, Hans-Jochen, ed., *Xenophon Ephesiaka* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1986). Selections in Greek with running notes and vocabulary.

Russell, D., "Only the Other Day," *Owls to Athens: Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover*, ed. E.M. Craik (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) 293-294. Items criticized are presented as innovations: *Sat.* 2.7, Plutarch, *Amatorius* 715F.

Sandy, G., "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the Ancient Novel," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 34.2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994) 1511-1574. Comprehensive analysis of the position of the *Metamorphoses* within the genre of the ancient novel.

Schmeling, G., "Notes to the Text of the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Part 1," *Latomus* 53 (1994) 132-154. *Historia* appears to have been composed in Latin in early 3rd century A.D. and later interlarded with Christian phrases. Gaps in text do not indicate that it is an epitome. Non-conservative approach to text reveals categories of scribal errors.

Selden, D., "Genre of Genre," *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. J. Tatum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1994) 39-64. On Greek and Roman novels: "For the fiction of late antiquity, this master trope turns out to be syllepsis, which is what effectively distinguishes these narratives — ... from other fictions that we know" (p. 51).

Stagni, E., "Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta di Petronio: l'editio princeps dei 'longa' è i codici di Tornesio," *MD* 30 (1993) 205-230. With this Stagni launches a promised set of studies on the medieval and humanistic tradition of the *Satyricon* text, arising from but not necessarily confined to a 1992 doctoral dissertation from the University of Pisa. Forthcoming

foci, we are told (and here I include the more significant ones), will include, a) the role of de Mesmes in the red-ink annotations in the *Bellum Civile* manuscripts, Leiden Voss. Misc. I, b) errors of *Cuiacianus* in that poem, c) codicological history of *B* and *P* and their relation to *Autissiodurensis* and *Bituricus*, d) correction and clarification of manuscript- and author-attributions in various sixteenth-century editions. Stagni's proudest promise (p. 206) is unfortunately still-born: the manuscript catalogue of Pierre Pithou with its reference to a Petronius MS in the company of *Tusculanae* (Lanvellec, *Rosanbo* 233, f. 32), has taken me no further, in a dozen years, to finding a long *deperditus*. [Though the Marquis was good enough to allow in 1981 a rapid supervised inspection of the château library, my later request for permission to publish the catalogue went unanswered; Stagni is referred to the published abstract of my paper, "The Private Dungeon of Pierre Pithou: On the Lost Manuscript Trail of Petronius," in *The Ancient Novel: Classical Paradigms and Modern Perspectives*, J. Tatum and G. Vernazza, eds., *ICAN TWO: Proceedings of the International Conference*, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1990. See now also my *Reading and Variant in Petronius* (Toronto, 1993), p. 171.] The balance of Stagni's article discusses passages in unpublished correspondence (at the *BN*) of scholars in the key years 1572-1575, prior to the coming out of de Tournes' edition (*t*), perhaps referring to the same manuscripts and their owners as mentioned in the famous preface of *t*. Stagni employs this material to attack anew and exhaustively problems in the identity of the *longiores*, the mix of their readings, and the significance of the notation "v.c.". I recommend a new test of the Mueller stemma, and I plead, in later treatments, for a text longer than the footnotes. (Wade Richardson)

Stagni, E., *Per la ricostruzione del testo di Petronio. Manoscritti, collazioni, edizioni al tempo della scoperta degli excerpta longa (1562-1587)* (Dissertation, Università di Pisa, 1992).

Sullivan, J.P., "The Social Ambience of Petronius' *Satyricon* and *Fellini Stayricon*," *Classics and Cinema*, ed. Martin Winkler (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1991) 251-263.

Tatum, J., ed., *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). A collection of some (25) of the papers presented (and later revised) at the 1989 International Conference on the Ancient Novel (ICAN-II), held at Dartmouth College and masterminded by J. Tatum. The contents of this volume are: J. Tatum, "Introduction: The Search for the Ancient Novel. A Story, or Fable, or Parable, or History, or Whatever You Want To Call It," pp. 1-19. Part I - Theorizing Ancient Fiction: J. Winkler, "The Invention of Romance," pp. 23-38; D. Selden, "Genre of Genre," pp. 39-64. Part II - Remembering and Revising: Walter Stephens, "Tasso's Heliodorus and

the World of Romance," pp. 67-87; D. de Armas Wilson, "Homage to Apuleius: Cervantes' Avenging Psyche," pp. 88-100; J. Romm, "Novels Beyond Thule: Antonius Diogenes, Rabelais, Cervantes," pp. 101-116; M. Doody, "Heliodorus Rewritten: Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* and Frances Burney's *Wanderer*," pp. 117-131. Part III - Romance in Its Ancient Landscape: B. P. Reardon, "*Mῦθος οὐ λόγος*: Longus's Lesbian Pastorals," pp. 135-147; F. Zeitlin, "Gardens of Desire in Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*: Nature, Art, and Imitation," pp. 148-170. Part IV - Romance at a Critical Distance: D. Konstan, "*Apollonius, King of Tyre* and the Greek Novel," pp. 173-182; S. Merkle, "Telling the True Story of the Trojan War: the Eyewitness Account of Dictys of Crete," pp. 183-196. Part V - The Real World: W. Geoffrey Arnott, "Longus, Natural History, and Realism," pp. 199-215; S. Saïd, "The City in the Greek Novel," pp. 216-236; J. Bodel, "Trimalchio's Underworld," pp. 237-259; B. Egger, "Women and Marriage in the Greek Novels: the Boundaries of Romance," pp. 260-280. Part VI - Fictions Sacred and Profane: R. Merkelbach, "Novel and Aretalogy," pp. 283-295; J. Perkins, "The Social World of the *Acts of Peter*," pp. 296-307; S. MacAlister, "Ancient and Contemporary in Byzantine Novels," pp. 308-322; Faustina C.W. Doufrikar-Aerts, "A Legacy of the *Alexander Romance* in Arab Writings: Al-Iskandar, Founder of Alexandria," pp. 323-343. Part VII - Pursuing the Idea of Ancient Fiction: D. Rollo, "From Apuleius's Psyche to Chrétien's Erec and Enide," pp. 347-369; P. Bien, "The Reemergence of Greek Prose Fiction in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," pp. 370-390; H. Montague, "From *Interlude in Arcady* to *Daphnis and Chloe*: Two Thousand Years of Erotic Fantasy," pp. 391-401. Part VIII - How Antiquity Read Its Novels: Susan Stephens, "Who Read Ancient Novels?," pp. 405-418; K. Dowden, "The Roman Audience of *The Golden Ass*," pp. 419-434; E. Bowie, "The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World," pp. 435-459.

Toohy, P., "Love, Lovesickness, and Melancholia," *ICS* 17 (1992) 265-286. "Perhaps the most striking examples of lovesickness seeming to ape melancholy are to be found in the ancient novel." (p. 273)

Walsh, P.G., trans., *The Golden Ass* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). Paperback edition will appear in 1995 in World's Classics series.

NACHLEBEN

Oskar Raith (Regensburg) reports that a few words from the *Sat.* 34.10, "*Ergo vivamus, j'dum licet esse bene/ Rehgässchen 4*," have appeared as an inscription on the wall of a house at Rehgässchen in Regensburg. Background: after the nuclear reactor meltdown in

Chernobyl on 25 April 1986, German radio warned citizens not to eat fresh vegetables for four weeks. After this the inscription appeared. Recorded in *Mittelbayerische Zeitung*, 29 August 1986.

There is a restaurant in Rome called the "Satyricon", via Marsala 56, Tel. 491824.

Christopher Murphy has noted that "The dreaded forgery has resurfaced." In *The Daily Telegraph* of 21 July 1993 there were printed two letters about the "famous" quotation from Caius Petronius: "We trained very hard, but it seemed that every time we were beginning to form up into teams we would be reorganized. I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by reorganizing — it can be a wonderful method of creating the illusion of progress while creating confusion, inefficiency and demoralisation."

Murphy has also run across this item in Mark Langley-Sowter, "Service Management and Marketing in Financial Services," *Mortgage Finance Gazette* (6 March 1992) 72: "As Petronius suggested reorganization of any sort is only a superficial manifestation of change."

"Caius Petronius, A.D. 66, quoted in the discussion paper. Illusions of Progress may be the only fruits..." Kevin Townsend, "Study Finds 'Illusions of Progress' - Health" in *New Zealand Herald*, 11 February 1993, 9. Murphy adds: "I only have an abstract of this article, hence it reads oddly. It seems to concern a discussion document on the New Zealand health service which uses the forged quotation." [Editor's note: Robert (not Kevin) Townsend, *Further Up the Organization* (New York: Knopf, 1984) 92, uses the forgery in his classic criticism of management.]

Murray, David, *The Financial Times* (London) 27 October 1990, page XIX, "Arts: Roman Orgy at the Banquet," a review of Bruno Maderna's 1973 music-theater-piece *Trimalchio's Banquet*. Performed by the Opera Factory at Drill Hall, London. Murray says it is an "amiably campy, mildly ludicrous charade ... It takes only an hour or so: pleasant enough after drinks." (C. Murphy)

Gates G., "An 'Explosion' of Gay Writing," *Newsweek* (10 May 1993) 58. "It's a paradox of Western culture that while gay writers are almost boringly canonical — Whitman, Proust, Forster, Woolf, Auden — explicitly gay writing went underground after the age of Petronius." (J. Bodel)

The Satyricon on the Stage

The National Theatre of Târgu Mureș, Romania, announces a stage presentation of Petronius' *Satyricon*, script by Victor Nicolae, stage and costumes by Adriana Grand, music by Dorina Crișan Rusu, and directed by Victor Ioan Frunză. More information is being sought.

NOTICES

N. Holzberg for the Petronian Society-Munich Section has produced a "Bibliographisches Provisorium zu Arbeitsproject II: *Griechische Briefromane*". Anyone desiring a copy should contact Prof. Dr. Niklas Holzberg, Petronian Society-Munich Section, Universität München, Institut für Klassische Philologie, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, 80539 München.

Lectures Held at Petronian Society-Munich Section 1993

- Jan. 20: Thomas Wiedemann (Bristol): "Petronius' Slaves"
 June 2: Ken Dowden (Birmingham): "A Most Sincere View of Roman Religion"
 June 23: Brigitte Egger (Rutgers): "Wie pornographisch ist der griechische Roman?"
 July 21: Werner von Koppenfels (München): "Phantastische Perspektiven: Die Satura Menippeae — eine Gattung mit Folgen"
 Nov. 3: Gareth Schmeling (Florida): "Confessor Gloriosus: a Role of Encolpius in the *Satyricon*"
 Dec. 15: Klaus Sallman (Mainz): "Erzählendes in der *Apologie* des Apuleius, oder: Argumentation als Unterhaltung"

Marcovich, T., "Theodorus Prodromus, *Rhodanthe et Dosicles*," Eighteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, 9-11 October 1992, University of Illinois.

Morgan, J., "Petronius and the Yuppies," a lecture, Durham, Dept. of Classics, The University, North Bailey, 13 May 1994, 5:30 p.m. (C. Murphy)

Richardson, W., "Interpolations in Petronius: Brief History, Status and Outlook," American Philological Association, 28 December 1993, Washington, D.C.

Bodel, J., "*Captatio* at Croton: Petronius and Horace," American Philological Association, 28 December 1992, New Orleans.

Daugherty, D., "Known by the Company You Keep: Trimalchio's Guests," Classical Association of the Middle West and South, 16 April 1993, Iowa City, Iowa.

Sixteenth Groningen Colloquium on The Novel, 29 October 1993, organized by M. Zimmerman-de Graaf at the Rijksuniversiteit. The speakers were R.G. Tanner, "Novelistic Elements in Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St Martin*"; R. Stoneman, "Riddles in Stone (Monuments and their Interpretation in the Alexander Romance)"; H. Petersmann, "Religion, Superstition and Parody in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*"; N. Holzberg, "Novel-like Pieces of Extended Prose Fiction: Fantastic Travel and Romanticized History"; A. Laird, "Description and Divinity in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*"; N. Slater, "The Gaze in Apuleius".

Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish
Narrative Working Group

by Charles W. Hedrick

Last November (1993) the Program Committee of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) approved the change of our Consultation to Working Group, which has a five-year term in the Society. Working Groups "are established to explore an emergent area of study or methodology, to cultivate a related discipline, or to pursue a long-range research project" (1993 SBL Program Unit Guidelines, 43). Our Group is interested in promoting all three of these goals over the next five years. The Consultation began in 1990 with an exchange between myself and Brad Chance (William Jewell College). "It is time to bring into focus the early Greek and Roman novels as the narrative matrix in which early Christian/Jewish narrative is most at home," I think he said (or did I say it? —if neither of us did, we should have!). We began with the assumption that our group should incorporate both classicists and New Testament specialists, and asked the following to join us on a steering committee: Douglas Edwards (University of Puget Sound), Ronald Hock (University of Southern California) and Richard Pervo (Seabury-Western Theological Seminary), to whom we quickly added Brigitte Egger (then Douglass College, Rutgers), and Judith Perkins (St. Joseph College, West Hartford, CT). Later we were joined by Mary Ann Tolbert (Vanderbilt Divinity School). We began our existence at the SBL with an unofficial impromptu consultation in 1991. This means that the meeting is not announced in the Bulletin but that a room will be provided for interested parties to gather. At that meeting we discussed the prospects for developing an official consultation and Ron Hock made a presentation to the group entitled "Directions for the Consultation on Ancient Narrative and Early Christianity." The interest in the programs that have been organized for the SBL over the past two years has been encouraging. Both years we have as a Consultation sponsored two 2 1/2 hour sessions with an average of 60 participants per session. Papers presented in the 1992 First Session at San Francisco are as follow: "Why New Testament Scholars Should Read Ancient Novels (Ronald F. Hock, University of Southern California); respondent Charles W. Hedrick, Jr. (University of California, Santa Cruz). "The Pastoral Epistles and the Epistolary Novel" (Richard I. Pervo, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary); respondent Patricia A. Rosenmeyer (Yale University). "Narrative Techniques in Greek Romance and the New Testament" (J.P. Sullivan, University of California, Santa Barbara); respondent Douglas Edwards (University of Puget Sound). In the Second Session the papers were: "Every Picture Tells a Story. Narrative Technique in *Daphnis and Chloe*" (Steven M. Sheeley, Shorter College). "The Function of Suffering in Greek

Romance and Early Greek Saints Lives" (Judith Perkins, St. Joseph College, West Hartford, CT). "Where is the Text in this Text? Fluidity in the Alexander Romance and the Apocryphal Acts" (Christine M. Thomas, Harvard University). In the 1993 meeting at Washington, DC our numbers were about the same for two 2 1/2 hour sessions. Papers in the First Session were: "The Invention of Fiction" (David Konstan, Brown University). "The Representation of Private Religious Piety in Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* and the Gospel of Mark" (Charles W. Hedrick, Southwest Missouri State University). "Pleasurable Reading or Symbols of Power? Religious Themes and Social Context in Chariton" (Douglas R. Edwards, University of Puget Sound). Papers for the Second Session were: "Myth, Chariton, and Genre Development" (Edmund P. Cueva, Loyola, Chicago). "Tobit and the Comedy of Perspective" (David McCracken, University of Washington). "Narrative Technique and Generic Designation: Crowd Scenes in Luke-Acts and Chariton" (Richard S. Ascough, Toronto School of Theology). There has been enough interest in the subject that the SBL decided to focus on it at the SBL International Meeting in Leuven, Belgium later this year (August 7-11, 1994). One day of the meeting will be devoted to a discussion of "The New Testament and the Ancient Romances," comprising two three hour sessions (one in the morning and one in the afternoon). There will be five papers presented followed by a one hour panel discussion among the presenters and the participants. The presenters and papers are: Loveday Alexander (University of Sheffield), "In Journeyings Often': Voyaging in the Ancient Novel and in the Acts of the Apostles." Douglas R. Edwards (University of Puget Sound), "Pleasurable Reading or Symbols of Power? Religious Themes and Social Context in Chariton and his World." Charles W. Hedrick (Southwest Missouri State University), "The Representation of Private Religious Piety in *Chaereas and Callirhoe* and the Gospel of Mark." Ronald F. Hock (University of Southern California), "Why New Testament Scholars Should Read the Ancient Romances." Richard I. Pervo (Seabury-Western Theological Seminary), "The Pastoral Epistles and the Epistolary Novel." The papers by Douglas, Hedrick, Hock, and Pervo are revised versions of unpublished papers previously presented at National SBL meetings in the U.S. The Program for the 1994 meeting (November 19-22) in Chicago will again feature two 2 1/2 hour sessions. First Session: "Fragments of Ancient Novels and Comparative Study of Ancient Novels" (Lawrence M. Wills, Harvard Divinity School). "A Synaesthetic Point of View: *Ecphrasis* in Xenophon of Ephesus" (Chris Shea, Ball State University). "Divine Prognostications and Movement of Story: An Intertextual Exploration of Xenophon's *Ephesian Tale* and the Acts of the Apostles" (J. Bradley Chance,

William Jewell College). Second Session: "Coming Down (?) from the Cross: An Early Christian Reads *An Ephesian Tale* (Richard I. Pervo, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary). "Romantic Suicide" (Judith Perkins, Saint Joseph College, West Hartford, CT.) The current plans of the Steering committee call for the Working Group on Ancient Fiction to focus on Xenophon's *Ephesian Tale* for the next few years. One long range objective is to produce a new translation of the text with a collection of ancient world parallels including the New Testament. We are particularly interested in soliciting papers from classics scholars. Persons with paper proposals for 1995 should contact Charles Hedrick (Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, MO) or Ronald Hock (University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA) before 1 March 1995.

James Tatum has extra copies of *The Ancient Novel. Classical Paradigms and Modern Perspectives*, ed. J. Tatum (Hanover, N.H., 1990). ICAN II: Proceedings of the International Conference on the Ancient Novel, 23-29 July 1989. He will send one *gratis* to anyone requesting one. Prof. James Tatum, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H. 03755, USA.

The Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, "Meeting List 1993". Seminar for 1992-93, The Ancient Novel, taught by D. Vessey. Lectures/Seminars: January 18, G. Anderson, "Apollonius of Tyre and Popular Storytelling"; January 25, K. Dowden, "Serious Intentions: Heliodorus and Other Ancient Novelists"; February 1, H. MacL. Currie, "Petronius' Menippean Satire"; February 15, R. Shone, "Antonius Diogenes and Lucian: or How to Tell Tall Stories"; February 22, H. Maehler, to be announced; March 1, N. Lowe, "Heliodorus' African *Odyssey*: Space, Time and Narrative Structure"; March 8, J. Morgan, "Gods, Authors and Stories: the Function of the Divine in the Greek Novel".

Rowan Gibbs-Smith's Bookshop Limited, P.O. Box 10265, Wellington, N.Z., is offering for sale 244 books and articles on the ancient novel.

The list below of students pursuing "Research in Classical Studies for University Degrees in Great Britain and Ireland" has been gleaned from the *BICS* 37 (1990):

Bradley, I., "The Greek Romances of the 12th Century", Belfast, PhD.

Panayotakis, C., "Theatrical Elements in the *Satyrice* of Petronius." This is a close examination of the relationship between the comic theatre (Roman Comedy, Greek and Roman Mime) and the *Satyrice*. Glasgow, PhD, September 1993 (P.G. Walsh).

Rodriguez, K., "Menippean Satire and Petronius," St. Andrews, MPhil.

Duff, T., "Ancient Greek Prose Literature," Christ's College, Cambridge.

Vagios, V., "Narrative Technique of Heliodorus," RHBNC, London, PhD.

Wheeldon, M., "Theories of Narrative in the Ancient World," KCL, London, PhD.

Ashley-Boulton, C., "Witchcraft and Superstition in the Latin Novel," Newcastle-upon-Tyne, PhD.

THE GREEK NOVEL

By B.P. Reardon

These occasional reports have not always kept ahead of *APh* as well as the more regularly appearing *PSN* has done for Petronius. Thus, the present instalment includes items already in *APh* 1991, where they were not included in the last report; by now some of them, from the less accessible journals, are a little long in the tooth, but they are still worth inclusion. Fortunately, items on Greek fiction are now appearing in the General Bibliography well ahead of the game, thanks to Gareth Schmeling. In this report I have referred to those General Bibliography entries in a number of cases where it seemed unnecessary to repeat details. The other function of the reports, however, has been to act as a round-up of increasingly numerous and increasingly scattered items, and that is perhaps useful in itself; it illuminates interconnected developments in a field that has expanded considerably in the last quarter of a century or so. These developments are admirably set out and discussed in the first item listed below (Bowie/Harrison), and have been much in my mind in the present report. To the point, indeed, where a notion I have been toying with for a number of years begins to make a more urgent appeal, as follows.

PSN began by dealing only with matters Petronian, just as the Groningen Colloquia arose out of Apuleian studies; but both of these enterprises have inevitably been invaded by Greek fiction, and by now the cuckoo has its feet firmly under the table. Which prompts me to muse on the possibility of a dedicated journal embracing all ancient fiction. It might of course be thought that encouragement is superfluous; it does not appear to be difficult to place an article or a book, and conferences and collections proliferate. And who would finance it? Do institutions with money still exist? Still, the idea would bear consideration. Any suggestions? Applications for the job of editor to Gareth Schmeling, along with guarantees of financial support. Such a journal could be called *Roman*. That would fox librarians.

STAND DER FORSCHUNG

Bowie, E.L. and Harrison, S.J. "The Romance of the Novel", *JRS* 83 (1993) 159-78. "The ancient novel has become one of the hottest properties in town." A welcome and predictably acute analysis of the progress of novel studies in our time, going back to Perry's 1967 book (earlier in places). Discussion of bibliography (300+ entries). Treats of or touches on: texts and tools, chronology, language, and problems arising; origins and sources, literary interpretation (general and particular), narrative technique; social topics — religion, the place of women, realism, readership; and prospects for research (especially narratological and generic analysis — as B. observes, genetics has been replaced by Genettics — and feminist approaches). An admirable way to set our current activities in focus.

TRANSLATIONS

Hägg, T., *The Novel in Antiquity*, is now available in Greek: *Tò 'Αρχαίο Μυθιστόρημα*, tr. T. Mastorakis and Y. Yatromanolakis, Athens, 1992; *PSN* 23 (1993) 3.

Chariton is now available in Korean: tr. Kim Sun Hi, 1991; *Aph* 62 (1991) 1246.

COLLECTIONS

Kussl, R., *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane. Ausgewählte Untersuchungen*, Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag, 1991. *PSN* 22 (1992) 2.

Stephens, S.A. and Winkler, J.J., *Ancient Greek Novels: the Fragments*, Princeton, reports of whose appearance have been as accurate as reports of Mark Twain's death, was said by Princeton to be really due April 94; they have not at time of writing (late May) managed to get it to me. *PSN* 23 (1993) 5.

Fowler, D.P. and Labate, M., ed., *Studi sul romanzo antico*, MD 25 1990; see *Aph* 1991 6702.

Morgan, J.R. and Stoneman, R., ed., *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context*, London, Rutledge, 1994. "The editors hope to open up the definition of Greek fiction to further debate and to create cross-currents between scholars working in diverse fields." James Tatum, "The Education of Cyrus"; Brigitte Egger, "Looking at Chariton's Callirhoe"; David Konstan, "Xenophon of Ephesus: Eros and Narrative in the Novel"; J.R. Morgan, "*Daphnis and Chloe*: Love's Own Sweet Story"; B.P. Reardon, "Achilles Tatius and Ego-Narrative"; J.R. Morgan, "The *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros: Narrative as Riddle"; Richard Stoneman, "The *Alexander Romance*: from History to Fiction"; Gerald Sandy, "New Pages of Greek Fiction"; Patricia A.

Rosenmeyer, "The Epistolary Novel"; Simon Swain, "Dio and Lucian"; Ewen Bowie, "Philostratus: Writer of Fiction"; John Tait, "Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek"; Lawrence W. Wills, "The Jewish Novellas"; Richard I. Pervo, "Early Christian Fiction"; Judith Perkins, "Representation in Greek Saints' Lives"; Suzanne MacAlister, "Byzantine Developments".

Scarcella, A.M., *Romanzi e romanzieri*, ed. P. Liviabella Furiani and L. Rossetti, Napoli 1992, Pubbl. dell' Univ. degli Studi di Perugia, 2 vv. Some twenty articles, monographs and papers, including some not published elsewhere. A useful collection; some of S.'s work is not readily accessible.

CONFERENCE ACTA

Baslez, M.-F., Hoffmann, P., and Trédé, M., ed., *Le monde du roman grec*, Paris 1992, Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure. Conference held in Dec. 1987, the publication held up by technical delays. 28 papers, mostly of a generally historical nature, some literary analysis; see *PSN* 23 (1993) 1-2 for list. Includes a number of important papers; well worth waiting for.

Gill, C.J., and Wiseman, T.P., *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Exeter 1993. Revised papers, some substantially augmented, from a 1991 conference. Ranges from the archaic period to the Roman Empire; only one directly on the topic of the novel (J.R. Morgan "Make-believe and Make Believe: the Fictionality of the Greek Novels", 175-229), but the whole subject of "When is a lie not a lie?" (when it is history?) is of much relevance to fiction, ancient and modern; v. *infr.* at Forthcoming. A thought intrudes: the APA meeting in Atlanta would make a good venue for a panel on *Gone With The Wind* as a Greek novel: history selected and rearranged, dominant heroine, Chariton-like "scene" and swiftly-moving "summary", pathos...

Groningen Colloquia on the Novel, ed. H. Hofmann, vols. IV and V, Groningen 1991 and 1993, Egbert Forsten but distributed in North America by Benjamin, Philadelphia. IV - see *PSN* 23 (1993); the editor notes the increase in number of contributions by women. V in this issue, most papers on Apuleius. I am told the meetings will continue as annual events (instead of biannual) in future.

Tatum, J., ed., *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, Baltimore, 1994, Johns Hopkins. Another "At last!"; but very well done. 24 papers, of the 91 delivered at the 1989 Dartmouth Conference ("ICAN II"); listed elsewhere in the present *PSN*.

CONCORDANCE

Beta, S., De Carli, E., Zanetto, G., *Lessico dei romanzi greci* III (K-O), Hildesheim 1993. Beta replaces F. Conca for this volume.

NOVEL, GENERAL

- Anderson, G., *The Second Sophistic: a Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*, London/NY, Routledge, 1993. The cultural context of the novel; and a chapter (8. "Logos Erōtikos: the Sophist as Storyteller") on the texts.
- Baslez, M.-F., "L' idée de noblesse dans les romans grecs", *Dialogues d' histoire ancienne* 16 (1990) 115-28 (ICAN II paper). Greek, oriental, and international notions of nobility.
- Bowie, E.L., "Hellenism in writers of the early Second Sophistic", in S. Said, ed., *Ἑλληνισμός. Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l' identité grecque*, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 25-27 oct. 1989, Leiden 1992, 183-204. Attitudes towards βάρβαροι. *PSN* 23 (1993) 2.
- Dunand, F., "Images du féminin dans le roman grec", *Mélanges P. Lévêque* II, Paris 1989, 173-82. *APH* 62 (1991) 6708.
- Ferrini, M.F., "Achille Tazio V. 25-27: analisi di un discorso diretto nel romanzo greco", *AION* (filol) IX-X (1987-88) 151-71. Rhetorical artifices. *APH* 62 (1991) 5.
- Ferrini, M.F., "Le parole e il personaggio: monologhi nel romanzo greco", *GIF* 42 (1990) 45-85. *APH* 61 (1990) 5224.
- Fowler, D.P. "Narrate and Describe: the Problem of Ecphrasis", *JRS* 81 (1991) 25-35.
- Fusillo, M., *Naissance du roman*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1991; = *Il romanzo greco. Polifonia ed Eros*, 1989, tr. Marielle Abrioux.
- Fusillo, M., "Il testo nel testo: la citazione nel romanzo greco", *MD* 24 (1990) 1-22. The uses of quotation.
- García Gual, C., *Audacias femeninas*, Madrid 1991. Ismenodora (Plut. *Erot.*), Leucippe, Melite, Thecla, Talestris (Amazon queen).
- Hägg, T., "Orality, Literacy, and the 'Readership' of the Early Greek Novel", in R. Eriksen ed., *Contexts of Pre-Novel Narrative: the European Tradition*, Berlin/NY 1994, 47-81.
- Holzberg, N., *Die antike Fabel: eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1993.
- Konstan, D., *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*, Princeton 1994. Reciprocated love and happy ending as a new formula in antiquity.
- Kuch, H., "Zur Gattungsgeschichte und Gattungstheorie des antiken Romans", *Eikasmos* 3 (1992) 223-33.
- Lefkowitz, M., "Did Ancient Women Write Novels?", in Amy-Jill Levin ed., *Women Like This: New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World*, SBL: Early Judaism and its Literature 1, Atlanta, Scholars Press 1991 199-219. "No compelling reason to think they did"; *PSN* 22 (1992) 2.
- Létoublon, F., *Les lieux communs du roman. Stéréotypes grecs d'aventure et d'amour*, Leiden, Brill, 1993 (*Mn Suppl.* 123).
- Liviabella Furiani, P., "Il tema del sangue nei romanzi greci d' amore", *Atti del VII Settimana: Sangue e Antropologia nella Teologia Medievale*, Rome 1991 519-60. *PSN* 23 (1993) 4.
- Liviabella Furiani, P., "Metodi e mezzi di comunicazione interpersonale nella società dei romanzi greci d' amore", *GIF* 42 (1990) 199-232.
- MacAlister, S., "The Ancient Greek Novel in its Social and Cultural Context", *Classicum* 17 (1991) 37-43.
- Montague, H., "Sweet and Pleasant Passion: Female and Male Fantasy in Ancient Romance Novels", in A. Richlin ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, NY/Oxford 1992 231-49.
- Pervo, R., "Aseneth and her Sisters: Women in Jewish Narrative and in the Greek Novels", in the Greek Novels, in Amy-Jill Levin ed., *Women Like This* (v. *supra.*, Lefkowitz). Susanna, (Joseph and) Aseneth, Judith. Echoes of the novels, but heroines presented differently. *PSN* 22 (1992) 3.
- Philippides, S., "Ἡ αφηγηματικὴ αιτιολόγησι των ονειρών στα αρχαία ελληνικά μυθιστορήματα", in Δ.Ι Κυρτάτας ed., *Ὀψις ἐνυπνίου. Ἡ χρήση των ονειρών στην ελληνική και ρωμαϊκή αρχαιότητα*. Heraclion 1993 155-76.
- Scarcella, A.M., "Nomos nel romanzo greco d' amore", *GIF* 42 (1990) 243-66.
- Swain, S., "Novel and Pantomime in Plutarch's 'Antony'", *H* 120 (1992) 76-82. Influence of novels on Plutarch, who indeed offers several novelettes; surely a novel-reader, but πεπαιδευμένος if anyone ever was. Well, some of us read James Bond.
- Szepessy, T., "The Ancient Family Novel (a Typological Proposal)", *Acta Antiqua* 31 (1985-88) 357-65. The report in *PSN* 23 (1993) 5 is misleading; Sz. includes in the category not only *Hist. Ap. Reg. Tyr.* but *Ps.-Clem. Recognitiones* and a 5th-6th C. Latin text, *Narrationes de caede monachorum in Monte Sinai*, attributed to one Nilus of Ancyra. Sz. suggests that this "type" of novel is late and Christian - part of the Christian takeover bid. With family as a substitute for sex?
- Tsagarakis, O., "Ἡ Ὀδύσσεια και το Ευρωπαϊκό μυθιστόρημα", *Θαλλώ* 4 (1992) 51060. Similar to *id. Archaiognosia* 1 (1980) 353-65 (also in Greek, but — unlike this piece — with résumé in English). Influence of *Od* on Hld. and A.T.

Zanetto, G., "La lingua dei romanzieri greci", *GIF* 42 (1990) 233-42. A welcome step in the direction of philological measurement of the differences of style felt impressionistically by every reader, reflecting differences in sophistication of content and in intended audience; the "coherence" and "homogeneity" of the canonical texts, of "the genre", is only superficial. As it is today, of course. Surely this is the (simple) answer to the tortured question of "the audience of the novels": which novel/s are we talking about? There is no one answer. the aficionado of Danielle Steel is unlikely to read Proust — but the converse is not necessarily true. I bet Plutarch read Chariton. Lots of people did — including that arch-snob Philostratus, and very likely the over-educated Julian. Hands up those who read Barbara Cartland... (names to Gareth Schmeling, who will pass them to the Political Correctness Committee of the APA).

ACHILLES TATIUS

- Albani, M.G., "Ach. Tat. IV.7.8 e Archil. fr. 118-119W", *GFF* 12 (1989) 13-15. A bit ancient, but I put it in for A's attempt at capturing A.T.'s essential quality, elusive enough to have befogged interpretation of him. A.T. appears a number of times, including in these places, to refer distantly — but the words are certainly suggestive ($\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\delta\varsigma\ \theta\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$) — to Archilochus's desire to touch Neobule's hand (though admittedly Arch. uses the accusative); "con una disinvoltura", says A., "se non proprio parodica, certo impregnato di *humour*" (A.'s spelling, and it is the allegedly English quality she is referring to). "Disinvoltura" is as good a shot as I have seen. People do keep on referring to Durham's 1938 suggestion that A.T. is parodying the genre, even though he was immediately — the same year — proved not to be parodying *Hld.*, as D. had suggested. A good case of "wrong in fact, right in principle", even though parody is (I agree with A.) not quite right — it goes too far. One of those fruitful near-misses that are more valuable than a bull's eye on a sitting target; it took a perceptive mind to say that in 1938, when everyone was so solemn about all the novels.
- Bertrand, J.-M., "Les Boucôloi ou le monde à l'envers", *REA* 90 (1988) 139-49. A.T. and Dio Cassius cast them as bogey-men, which no doubt suited the Romans — it justified violence against them.
- Cavallini, E., "Achill. Tat. II 37.2s", *Eikasmos* 1 (1990) 179-92. Textual point.
- Delhay, C., "Achille Tatius fabuliste?", *Pallas* 36 (1990) 117-31. Fables used at 2.19-23 (Conops and Satyrus, mosquitoes), integrated into narrative.
- Ferrini, M.F., "Achille Tazio V 25-27: analisi di un discorso diretto nel romanzo greco", *AION* (filol) IX-X (1987-88) 151-71. Rhetoric of a speech of Melite: tragic and philosophical modes.
- Garnaud, J.-Ph., ed. of Achilles Tatius, Paris, Belles Lettres (Budé) 1991. Up-to-date, reliable and scholarly; a welcome advance on Vilborg, although there is little literary comment.
- Laplace, M., "Achille Tatius, 'Leucippé et Clitophon': des fables au roman de formation", *GCN* 4 35-36.
- Laplace, M., "A propos du P. Robinson-Coloniensis d'Achille Tatius, Leucippé et Clitophon", *ZPE* 98 (1993) 43-56.
- Maeder, D., "Au seuil des romans grecs: effet de réel et effets de création", *GCN* 4 1-33. Interplay of realism and creation in A.
- Manni, E., "Bisanzio, l'Egitto e le 'guerre' narrate da Achille Tazio", *Studi G. Monaco* I, ed. A. Buttitta et al., I, Palermo 1991 471-73, *APh* 62 (1991) 15386, cf. 7. Apparent similarities with 3rd C. events. This can hardly be right.
- Mignona, E., "Europa o Selene? Achille Tazio e Mosco o il ritorno dell' 'inversione'", *Maia* 1993 177-83. On the text at 1.4.2-3.
- Scarcella, A.M., "Affair di cuore: Achille Tazio e l'erotologia greca dell'età (alto) imperiale", in *Studi G. Monaco* (v. *supr.*, E. Manni) I, 455-70.
- Willis, W.H., "The Robinson-Cologne Papyrus of Achilles Tatius", *GRBS* 31 (1990) 73-102.

AESOP

The question of genre really is very slippery: in one aspect what *is* "the novel" — or romance? — generically, but also what texts should one consider in even asking that question? The Alexander-romance? Dictys and Dares? Ideologically-motivated narratives? Very recently another candidate has been added to the list — resuscitated, rather: the *Aesop-Roman*. The Monacenses, with Niklas Holzberg energetically at the helm, have been very actively examining these fringes (if I may so beg the question, for present purposes) in recent years. 1992 was a good year for Aesop: the studies by various hands in *Der Äsop-Roman* (*infr.*) and papers by Holzberg himself. "Many of our subliterate collections of material", said Graham Anderson (*Ancient Fiction* 132) "can best be described as narratives rather than novels... juxtapositions of material rather than consciously artistic storytelling... The Greek *Aesop-Romance* falls fairly obviously into this category, in so far as much of the material could have been presented to the same purpose in an arbitrarily different order." One could say that of many picaresque novels, though some, no doubt — Apuleius's *Met.* — are not arbitrary in

their ordering of episodes. *Aesop* certainly has connections with the comic "tradition", if there is such a thing in antiquity; cf. Kussl in *Der Äsop-Roman* 23-30, parallels with Tinouphis and Achikar (and cf. Haslam's own contributions to the Aesop story in *POxy* 3331 and 3720). And of course *Iolaus* may predate Petronius (I would put money on that). A flourishing set of *Vorläufer der Schelmen-roman*.

Holzberg, N., ed., *Der Äsop-Roman. Motivgeschichte und Erzählstruktur*, Tübingen 1992, *Classica Monacensia* 6. *Oriental Verleben*, narrative structure, etc., *Nachleben*; several contributors. Extensive bibliography by Holzberg and A. Beschorner (an augmented version of a working Bibliography prepared in 1991 for the Munich Section of the Petronian Society, and available separately from the Institut für Klassische Philologie, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, D-8000 München 40; mention Petronian Society in address).

Holzberg, N., "A Lesser-Known 'Picaresque' Novel of Greek Origin. The *Aesop Romance* and its Influence", *GCN* 5 1-16 (published in 1993, but delivered at Groningen in 1992). Cf. the following version.

Holzberg, N., "Ein vergessener griechischer Schelmenroman: die fiktinale Äsop-vita des 2/3 Jahrhunderts", *Anregung* 38 (1992) 390-403, v. *PSN* 23 (1993) 4.

ANTONIUS DIOGENES

Biraud, M., "Parcours initiatiques dans les 'Merveilles d'au delà de Thulé", in A. Moreau ed., *L'initiation. Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 11-14 avril 1991* II 37-45.

Fusillo, M., ed., *Le incredibili avventure al di là di Tule*, Palermo 1990. Greek text, Latin translation by A. Schottus.

Swain, S., "Antonius Diogenes and Lucian", *LCM* 17 (1992) 74-76. Is A.D. "a poet of Old Comedy"?

CHARITON

Several substantial items here.

Brioso Sánchez, M. "Caritón y sus modelos", *Minerva* 3 (1989) 205-208.

Elsom, H.E., "Callirhoe: Displaying the Phallic Woman", in A. Richlin, ed., *Pornography* etc. (v. *supr.* Novel, General, Montague) 212-30. Is *CC* a sexist text? It can be to a sexist reader.

Hernandez Lára, C., "Rhetorical Aspects of Chariton of Aphrodisias", *GIF* 42 (1990) 267-74. ICAN II paper. Analysis of rhetorical figures, clausulae, atticisms; a text of artistic prose. The atticisms date it to the 1st C. A.D.

Hunter, R., "History and Historicity in the Romance of Chariton", *ANRW* 34.2 (1994) 1055-86.

Jones, C.P., "Hellenistic History in Chariton of Aphrodisias", *Chiron* 22 (1992) 91-102. At several points there seem to be reflections, hitherto unnoticed, of Hellenistic history in *CC*: "Dokimos" may be the name of a person, not of a harbour; the siege of Tyre may reflect not Alexander's siege but one in 312 (the town was captured by treachery); etc. Between this and other articles mentioned here — and in a different vein the articles by Baslez and Jones himself in *Le monde du roman grec* (*supr.*, Conference Acta) — we appear to be getting closer to Ch.'s literary personality and possibly his date (R.-M., J. and B. suggest early 2nd C., on various grounds; if that is the case, it is surprising that Ch. does not atticize more than he does — cf. Hernandez Lára *supr.*; he is certainly not without literary ambition).

Karabéllas, E., "Le roman de Chariton d' Aphrodisias et le droit: renversements de situation et exploitation des ambiguïtés juridiques", *Symposion 1988*, Köln 1990 (*Aph* 62 [1991] 1248, 14101).

Roncali, R., "Zelotypia/Daimon in Caritone", *Quaderni di Storia* 17 (1991) 183-86. Personification.

Ruiz-Montero, C., "Aspects of the vocabulary of Chariton of Aphrodisias", *CQ* 61 (1991) 484-89. Suggests a date in late 1st or early 2nd C.

Ruiz-Montero, C., "Caritón de Afrodiasias y los Ejercicios preparatorios de Elio Teón", *Treballs en honor de Virgilio Bejarano*, Barcelona 1991 709-13 (*Aph* 62 [1991] 15320). More rhetorical influences.

Ruiz-Montero, C., "Chariton von Aphrodisias: ein Überblick", *ANRW* 34.2 (1994) 1006-54.

Schenkeveld, D.M., "The Lexicon of the Narrator and his Characters: Some Aspects of Syntax and Choice of Words in Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*", *GCN* 5 17-30.

CHION

Robiano, P., "Cotys le Thrace" anachronismes, onomastique et fiction dans les *Lettres de Chion d' Héraclée*", *REG* 104 (1991) 568-73. Cotys of Letter 13 is perhaps the Cotys murdered in 360; this would suggest that the work is not authentic, and throw light on the author's literary intentions.

Konstan, D., and Mitsis, P., "Chion of Heraclea: a Philosophical Novel in Letters", *Apeiron* 23 (1990) 257-79. General study.

DARES

Beschorner, A., *Untersuchungen zu Dares Phrygius*, Tübingen 1992. Epitome? Greek original? Interpretation, date.

- Bradley, D.R. "Troy Revisited", *H* 119 (1991) 232-46. Assessment in light of research.
- Meister, F., *Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia*, Teubner text 1991.
- Merkle, S., *Troiiani belli verior textus. Die Trojaberichte des Dictys und Dares*, in H. Brunner ed., *Die deutsche Trojaliteratur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Materialien und Untersuchungen*, Wiesbaden 1990, 491-522.

DICTYS

- Grillo, A., "Sul testo dell' epistula di Settimio premesso alla Storia della guerra di Troia di Ditti Cretense", in A. Buttitta et al. edd., *Studi Monaco* (v. *supr.* Ach. Tat., Manni) 3 1263-68.
- Grillo, A., "Atreo contro Catreo: due parole in lotta nel testo di Ditti-Settimio", *RFIC* 118 (1990) 436-40. Text. See next entry.
- Venini, P., "Ancora Atreo e Catreo in Ditti-Settimio", *RFIC* 119 (1991) 251. See previous entry.

HELIODORUS

- Bevilacqua, F., "Finzione e realtà nel racconto di Calasiri: (Eliodoro IV.12-13)", *Sileno* 16 (1990) 247-49.
- Bucher, L., "Rhodopis, Héliodore et les Perses", in M. Piérart and O. Curty edd., *Historia Testis*, Fribourg (Suisse) 1989 159-66. (*Aph* 62 [1991] 2169, 60 [1990] 14170). The apparent chronological precision of the mention of Rhodopis is a piece of *Beglaubigungsapparat*. (There is an anachronism here, one of a number in Hld.; but perhaps that hardly affects B.'s point).
- Chuvin, P., "La date des *Ethiopiennes* d' Héliodore", in *id.*, *Chronique des derniers païens: la disparition du paganisme dans l'Empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien*, Paris 1990 321-25; (the English trans. of part of this book, by B.A. Archer, *A Chronicle of the Last Pagans*, Harvard 1990, in G.W. Bowersock's *Revealing Antiquity* series, does not contain this Appendix). Noch einmal the date of Hld.? Yes, and a substantial contribution. Szepessy, says Ch., has misrepresented the relationship between Julian's and Hld.'s accounts of the sieges; they are indeed related, but there is no way of knowing which is prior. Sz. has also misrepresented and misjudged the value of some of the evidence (Theodoretus, *Chron. Pasch.*). Net result: Hld. should go back to the latter half of the 4th C. Above all, on this point see G.W. Bowersock in the forthcoming published version of his *Sathers* (v. *infr.* *Forthcoming*), where the matter is in my view definitively settled, at last: 4th C. it is. Bowersock's argument (it was not developed in the *Sathers* as delivered) is based on more flaws, and serious ones, in Sz.'s scholarly procedure, and on the relationship between Hld. and the *Historia Augusta*. Oof! That's a stone out of our shoe. And an important matter. Certainly, in recent years there have been several almost convincing, but never quite conclusive, salvoes on the other side. But it never did seem likely that the Julian who refers so dismissively to "pseudo-historical love-stories and all that old-fashioned junk" would elsewhere actually distort contemporary history in order to decorate his immortal prose with precisely that junk. A vote of thanks of Ch. and B. for shooting down that red herring.
- Conca, F., "Scribi e lettori dei romanzi tardoantichi e bizantini", in A. Garzya ed., *Assoc. di studi antichi. Atti dei Convegni* 1, Napoli 1989 (*Aph* 62 [1991] p. 152, cf. 1989 14040) (223-) 235-241 (-246). Scholia on Hld.
- Dickie, M.W., "Heliodorus and Plutarch on the Evil Eye", *CPh* 86 (1991) 17-29.
- Dubel, S., "La description d' art dans l' antiquité", *Pallas* 36 (1990) 101-15. Hld.'s description of Charicleia's belt and ring.
- Futre Pinheiro, M., "Fonctions du surnaturel dans les *Ethiopiennes* d' Héliodore", *BAGB* 4 (1991) 359-81.
- Futre Pinheiro, M., "Calasiris' Story and its Narrative Significance in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*", *GCN* 4 69-83.
- Futre Pinheiro, M., "Pour une lecture critique d' Héliodore", *Euphrosyne* 20 (1992) 283-94.
- Hidalgo de la Vega, Maria José, "Los misterios y la magia en las *Etiópicas* de Heliodoro", *SHHA* 6 (1988) 175-88 (*Aph* 61 [1990] 1671).
- Laplace M., "Les *Ethiopiennes* d' Héliodore, ou la genèse d' un panégyrique de l' amour", *REA* 94 (1992) 199-230 (ICAN II paper).
- Lentakis, V., "Οι αγγελιοφόροι των θεών τα όνειρα στα *Αιθιοπικά* του Ηλιοδώρου", in D.I. Kurtakas ed., "Όψις ένυπνίου (v. *supr.*, Novel, General, Philippides) 177-208.
- Marino, E., "Il teatro nel romanzo: Eliodoro e il codice spettacolare", *MD* 1990 No. 25 203-18.
- Mesturini, A.M. "Eliodoro, *Etiopiche* II 30", *Sileno* 16 (1990) 221-25.
- Morgan, J.R., "Reader and Audiences in the 'Aithiopika' of Heliodoros", *GCN* 4 85-103.
- Morgan, J.R., "Make-believe and Make Believe..." etc., in Gill/Wiseman edd., *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, v. *supr.* Conference Acta.
- Robiano, P., "Les gymnosophistes éthiopiens chez Philostrate et chez Héliodore", *REA* 94 (1992) 413-428.
- Stramaglia, A., "Aspetti di Letteratura fantastica in Apuleio", *Ann. Fac. Lett. Bari* 33 (1990) 159-220 (*Aph* 60 [1991] 261). Egyptian priests, cf. Hld. 2.21.2

Tarán, L., "The Authorship of a Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*", in M.-O. Goulet-Cazé et al. edd., *Σοφίης μαιήτρος, "Chercheurs de sagesse". Hommage à Jean Pépin*, Paris, Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes, 1992, 203-30.

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- Holcroft, A., "Riddles and *prudentia* in the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*", *Prudentia* 23 (1991) 45-54.
- Kortekaas, G.A.A., "The *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* and Ancient Astrology. A Possible Link between Apollonius and *κατοχή*", *ZPE* 85 (1991) 71-85. ICAN II paper. A follow-up to topics in K.'s magisterial edition.
- Müller, C.W., "Der Romanheld als Rätsellöser in der *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*", *WJA* 17 (1991) 267-79.

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- Fernández García, A., "La composición triádica del Dafnis y Cloe: contenidos expresados con tres elementos", *Fortunatae* 1 (1991) 19-26.
- García Gual, C., "L'initiation de Daphnis et Chloe", in A. Moreau ed., *L'initiation. Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 11-14 avril 1991* I 157-66.
- Longo, O., "Codici alimentari, rovesciamento, regressione: Gnatone nel romanzo di Longo Sofista", in *id.* ed., *Homo Edens*, Milan 1989, 295-98.
- MacQueen, B.D., *Myth, Rhetoric and Fiction: a Reading of Longus's Daphnis and Chloe*, Lincoln (Nebraska) 1990.
- Maeder, D., "Au seuil des romans grecs ..." etc., v. *supr.* Ach. Tat. (on L.'s proemium).
- Maritz, J., "The Role of Music in 'Daphnis and Chloe'", *GCN* 4 57-67.
- Montague, H., "Sweet and Pleasant Passion..." etc., v. *supr.* Novel, General; Longus has the star role in this study.
- O'Connor, E., "'A Bird in the Bush': The Erotic and Literary Implications of Bucolic and Avian Imagery in two Related Episodes of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*", *RhM* 134 (1991) 393-401.

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Teske, D., *Der Roman des Longus als Werk der Kunst. Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Physis und Techne in "Daphnis und Chloe"*, Münster 1991.

Vella, H., "Some Novel Aspects in Homer's *Odyssey* and Longus", *SIFC* 84 (1991) 148-62. Influence of H. on L. (structure, content).

Wouters, A., "Longus' Daphnis en Chloé. Het Prooemion en de ingelaste verhalen", *Handelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiednis* 45 (1991) 213-42.

LUCIAN

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- Swain, S., "Antonius Diogenes and Lucian", *LCM* 17 (1992) 74-76.

XENOPHON EPHESIUS

- Baugh, S., "Phraseology and the Reliability of Acts", *New Testament Studies* 36 (1990) 290-94. Phrases in Xen. Eph. referring to Artemis compared with those in the N.T. (*PSN* 23 [1993] 2).
- Konstan, D., "Eros in Ephesus: the Nature of Love in Xenophon's Ephesian Tale", *Classicum* 17 (1991) 26-33.
- Ruiz-Montero, C., "Xenophon von Ephesos: ein Überblick", *ANRW* 34.2 (1994) 1008-1138.
- Sartori, F., "L'Egitto di Senofonte Efesio", in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci edd., *Egitto e Storia Antica*, Bologna 1989, 657-69 (*Aph* 60 [1989] 12255, 62 [1991] 6218).
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CHRISTIAN NOVELS

- Perkins, Judith, "The Apocryphal Acts of Peter: a *Roman à Thèse?*", *Arethusa* 25 (1992) 445-57. The thesis would be that Christianity can cure or find a use for sickness and death.

FRAGMENTS

- Dostálová, R., *Il romanzo greco e i papiri*, Prague 1991. Lectures given at the Vitelli Institute, Florence, 1987. The fragments suggest an origin in historiography for the genre.
- Gronewald, M., "Zum Ninos-Roman", *ZPE* 97 (1993) 1-6. Text/interpretation.

- Kussl, R., ed. of *Ninus* and some other texts; v. Collections.
- Pintaudi, R., "Frammento con citazione omerica", in M. Capasso ed., *Papiri letterari greci e latini*, Univ. di Lecce 1992 (*Papyrologica Lupiensia* I) 283-90. Cf. Chariton; could be quotation to encourage hero?
- Santoni, A., "Una descrizione di Canopo in P. Michael. 4", in *Varia Papyrologica*, Firenze 1991, 101-20 (*Aph* 62 [1991] 7672). New edition, commentary.
- Stephens/Winkler, v. Collections.
- Stramaglia, A., "Due storie di fantasmi raccontate da fantasmi? PMich inv. 3378 (Pack² 2629) e Apuleio *Met.* 9.29-31", *ZPE* 84 (1990) 19-26. *Met.* may help with the content.
- Stramaglia, A., "Innamoramento in sogno o storia di fantasmi? PMich inv. 5 = PGM² XXXIV (Pack² 2636) + PPalauRib inv. 152", *ZPE* 88 (1991) 73-86. Ghost story with dead member of love-pair.
- Stramaglia, A., "Covi di banditti e cadaveri 'scomodi' in Lolliano, Apuleio e [Luciano]", *ZPE* 94 (1992) 59-63.

NACHLEBEN

- V. *supr.* Novel, General, Tsagarakis; *HART*, Archibald; Hld. Tarán.

FORTHCOMING

- G.W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*, UC Press. Bowersock's Sathers of 1991. V. *supr.* Hld., Chuvin. The topic and the writer guarantee a study of major importance for *PSN* readers
- E.L. Bowie, edition of Longus.
- J.R. Morgan, edition of Longus.
- J.R. Morgan, edition of Hld. 9-10.

GRONINGEN COLLOQUIUM ON THE NOVEL

The 17th Groningen Colloquium on the Novel was held 22-23 April 1994, at the Rijksuniversiteit, under the direction of Maaïke Zimmerman-de Graaf. The speakers were (22 April): N. Shumate, "Charite and Dido Reconsidered: a Virgilian Pattern in Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 8-10"; D. van Mal-Maeder, "*L' Ane d'Or* ou les métamorphoses d'un récit: illustration de la subjectivité humaine"; F. Jones, "Punishment and the Dual Plan of the World in Apuleius"; L. Benz, "Der antike Roman und der Mimus"; W. Keulen, "Matrimonium iustum: a Legal Concept in Apuleian Context"; S. Brodersen, "Amors Palast. Eine römische Villa (Apuleius *Metamorphosen* V, 1)". (23 April): D. Obbink, "Just Like a Drama: Unexamined Genres and the Origin of Fiction"; H. Parker, "Photius on the

Novel"; H. Lakka, "The Taming of the View: Natural Curiosities in Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*"; F. Templar, "Kallisthenes and Kalligone — Romance in an Unromantic World"; D. Hansen, "The Making of the Romantic Hero. Clemens and the *Clementina*".

N.B. The Organization of the Groningen Colloquia has been changed. The 17th *GCN* will last two days instead of one and take place on 22-23 April 1994. There will be no *GCN* in autumn 1994. The 18th *GCN* is scheduled, again for two days, in 1995 for 28-29 April. It is likely that after April 1995 the dates for the following Colloquia will be in autumn (October) of each year. The 19th *GCN* would then be held in October 1996, and so on. (Maaïke Zimmerman-de Graaf)

IN MEMORIAM

Carl C. Schlam, Professor of Classics at the Ohio State University, and known to us all for his work on Apuleius (*The Metamorphoses of Apuleius: on Making an Ass of Oneself* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992]), died on Christmas Day 1993.

Federico Fellini, director of the *Fellini Satyricon*, died 31 October 1993.

REVIEWS

Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome, edited by Amy Richlin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) XXIII + 317 pp. Time Table, Bibliography, Index.

review by
Brigitte Egger

This collection of 12 essays (plus an epilogue) is not an attempt at a history of classical pornography, but a critical review of ancient texts and art from the aspect of pornographic patterns of representation. In light of the widespread current debate in the media on pornography and violence, and of numerous unsuccessful attempts (feminist, political, religious and other) to define the concept of "pornography" by standards of content, the contributors have chosen the approach proposed by Susanne Kappeler (in *The Pornography of Representation*, University of Minnesota Press, 1986 - the allusion to her title is intended) for their rereading of Greek and Roman literature and artefacts. The strength of Kappeler's theory is that it is not based on content (such as sexual "perversion", obscenity, physical violence) whose offensiveness cannot be defined objectively, ahistorically, or cross-culturally; instead, she locates the pornographic in the particular process of representation itself, visual or narrative, whose typical strategies of power mechanism involve the reification of

its object, often female. This facilitates the "focus on sameness rather than on difference" (XIV) in this application of current feminist theory to ancient documents.

The examined subjects, both expectable and surprising, canonical and extracanonical, stem from a variety of provenances: Attic pottery (R. Sutton, Jr., A. Shapiro), classical Greek tragedy (N. Rabinowitz) and comedy (B. Zweig), erotic handbooks (H. Parker), Roman historiography (S. Joshel), Augustan domestic wall painting (M. Myerowitz), Ovid (A. Richlin), Roman mosaic (S. Brown), Athenaeus (M. Henry) and, most relevant to the readers of this newsletter, the ancient novel: Helen Elsom on "Callirhoe: Displaying the Phallic woman" (p. 212-230), and Holly Montague on "Sweet and Pleasant Passion: Female and Male Fantasy in Ancient Romance Novels" (p. 231-249). I will limit myself to these last two contributions, although some others are also eye-opening, and those chapters that deal with topics from the context of ancient prose fiction or with its subtexts are of generic interest. The problematic of erotic and pornographic representation *in se* is of course central to the ancient novels, texts specializing in themes of desire, sexuality and violence. Particularly instructive as an application of the chosen theoretical model to erotic narrative is Richlin's brilliant rereading of Ovid's rapes (the topic of threatened rape also forming much of the fabric of Greek romance); cf. also her introduction to the volume.

Elsom's article concerns not only Chariton, but includes an excursus on Petronius (following the late J.P. Sullivan's work) and Achilles Tatius to corroborate that "the ancient romances embody a structure common to romance and porn, that of the exposure of a woman to the public gaze" (213). While this can be well demonstrated in Chariton alone, she employs her detour to novels that entail quite different representational situations (with first-person narrators) and conventions to show that the *Satyrica* is not "just a parody but an exposé of the conventions of romance as being based on sexual display, and display of the phallus in particular" (220). Her interpretive instrumentarium is Freudian and Lacanian; specific analytical models are Gayle Rubin's notions of the "traffic in women" and the political economy of sex as well as current feminist film theory (Silverman, de Lauretis). In this vocabulary woman is always a sign of the phallus; hence in Chariton the "enjoyment of the text is based in the display of Callirhoe as the phallus" (226).

Achilles Tatius and Petronius contain sexually explicit scenes; the graphic detail of sexual violence in Achilles is notoriously lurid and misogynist. Elsom discusses 3.15, a scene with clear sexual overtones, in which Cleitophon watches Leucippe's belly (seemingly) being ripped open by a sword, and 5.7, though she omits the more complicated scenario in which the female protagonist and central victim herself invites the

pornographic fantasy of the mutilation and violation of her body by her "lover" (6.21f.). She argues that the difference between "ideal" and "realistic" novels lies only in the degree, not in the essence of elicited pornographic imagination of the heroine suffering and being desired. Women remain victims of similar objectification in the male and public gaze in the other extant Greek novels, where it is expressed less starkly, since like pornography romance exposes woman as an object. In an analysis of Chariton's bath scene (2.2), his heroine's pregnancy dilemma (2.8 ff.), temple episode (3.8), and final homecoming tableau (8.6), she discusses Callirhoe's exposure as a "willing and unwilling object" (224) of the traffic of desire, as a token in the kinship system, as a commodity whose acceptance of her status as phallus and object leads to reading pleasure when she willingly takes her place in the patriarchal order.

Woman as a sign representing the phallus and men's fear of losing her/it mean that on the libidinal reading level the novels ultimately assuage male castration anxiety and confirm the male reader's subjectivity (220). This is a convincing explanation of prominent male-oriented features of Greek romance. But the issue of the female reader's involvement with the text that is announced in the beginning ("Can women read it usefully, and is it worthwhile for us to try?", 212) might receive more attention. Elsom circumvents it by addressing only male-identified women readers co-opted as the heroine's fellow victims on the one hand and a modern feminist critical audience that resists the allurements of the text on the other. Citing Anne Snitow's view of romance as (soft-core) "pornography for women" who are lured into taking masochistic pleasure in domesticated kinds of female victimization for the rewards of social and economic status, she concedes a similarity of the ancient and modern romance heroines' careers (229). However, the novels, especially Chariton's, offer compensatory fantasies of sexual power and experience to a female audience which do not clash with the pornographic structures Elsom intelligently discusses. They add an important perspective to the picture.

Elsom concludes that the Greek novels present an "open epistemology" whose play between conformity and transgression allows different ways of reading depending on reader intentions (229). "It is possible to look at the heroine, or to look at the heroine being exposed. The choice between libidinal and intellectual, between enjoyment and diagnosis; is in the eye of the beholder" (230) — my issue with this analysis is whether sentimental enjoyment, for male and female readers, can really rest only on a pornographic objectification of women.

Montague's chosen angle on pornographic representation in Longus is his ambivalent portrayal of female sexuality: it vacillates between empathy with

the young heroine's innocent sensibilities and experience of growing erotic feelings on the one hand, and protracted fantasies of sexual violence and rape on the other, culminating in the "supremely ambivalent" wedding scene, in which Chloe's marital fulfillment is replete with hints at her brutal defloration. Montague reads Longus in analogy of modern Harlequin romances, a "form of female erotica" for which this very contradiction is constitutive, and Chloe as "Pamela's grandmother" (233). She acknowledges that modern romance consumers read for vicarious experience rather than for an appreciation of literary merit, whereas Longus, obviously striving for high literaricity in his blending of irony and artificiality, seems intended for readers with academic interests. Setting aside the implications of such narratorial distance (much discussed in recent scholarship) for reader identification as well as resulting disfamiliarization (*Verfremdung*) and a possibly less immediate pornographic access, Montague concentrates on female modes of reading. Other points of comparison between modern and ancient romance are the exotic setting, delicious packaging, elements of class fantasy, and, most importantly, the romantic obstacle course to ultimate sexual union, which "allows erotic tensions to be maintained at length" (236). Such teasing postponement of sexual fulfillment thriving on female passivity has been shown to appeal to female fantasy in modern romance reading (a more optimistic interpretation holds that female sexuality simply "goes on and on").

Tracing Chloe's gradual progress from a vigorous and resourceful lover to the fading out of her subjectivity as she and Daphnis become "more and more distinctly unequal partners" (cf. also Winkler's *Constraints of Desire* for Longus' puzzling narrative stance toward his heroine), Montague focuses on the tension between "sweetness and sometimes violent sexuality as a source of reading pleasure" (238) and the function of (threatened) aggression in female and male fantasy. After an initial show of the heroine's autonomy, the reader is encouraged to derive pleasure from her constant victimization, from brutality amid the charm. The ambiguous appeal of vicarious experience of sexual initiation, also found in modern romance, is reinforced in Longus by the violent imagery of the incorporated narratives. In such fantasies of brutality directed against the female, the heroine cooperates in her own objectification: "the character is excited by the idea of herself as an object of desire" (235), which results in a dislocation of the woman's identity. A comparison with the more explicit and openly misogynist sexual violence in Achilles Tatius (such as the virgin sacrifice at 3.15, see above) brings to the fore this tension in the equation of sex and savagery. In both novels the heroine is portrayed "with a show of sympathy, yet her pain and bloodshed are repeatedly ... suggested" (245). One interpretation of startling parallels in modern

women's narratives explains this as sadomasochistic fantasy; another, more optimistic, holds that violent material can give readers a chance to come to terms vicariously with real threats. (Yet another possibility, is, of course, the explanation popularized by Nancy Friday: women's reactive interiorization of dominant culture reaches even into their fantasies and is best worked out there).

Montague gives more space than Elsom to the powers of the female (241ff.): they consist mainly in Chloe's innocent purity, a lack of awareness that creates a schizophrenic effect, but also lends her moral ascendancy and a special force. This interpretation of chastity and withheld sexuality as the heroine's main tool of power could be taken further.

Only a resisting reader (in the sense of Judith Fetterley) can fortify herself against identifying with such female victimization as a source of pleasure. Inspired by feminist scholarship on modern romance, Montague endorses rescuing female identity from such double-edged discourse, "to retrieve the positive elements of a female characterization from a context that constructs the female experience in such negative terms" (246), and to find a women's text in Longus which waits to be recovered. She concludes with the suggestion to read ancient romance as a form of exploration. The explosive problem of the female-identified reader who is not out for critical understanding, but identifies and cooperates masochistically with Chloe's victimization remains. Maybe this very fantasy of being dominated and victimized, but in the end escaping scotfree, in combination with the heroine's pervasive attraction (admittedly far less prominent in Longus than in the other romances, where it amounts to erotic omnipotence), could be another key to the fascination of romance.

Gill, C. and Wiseman, T. P., eds. *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

The origin of the volume is a conference at the University of Exeter in April 1991, and the two editors are to be thanked both for bringing it so promptly to print and (more importantly) for fashioning a volume of seven essays, each worth reading and studying. E. Bowie, "Lies, Fiction and Slander in Early Greek Poetry," investigates to what extent early Greek poets could distinguish between material they inherited from their social group and then passed down and material they invented, and concludes that Stesichorus, e.g., at times substituted his own fictions for traditional songs. C. Gill, "Plato on Falsehood — not Fiction," argues that while Plato seems to have recognized our modern term fiction (narrative which is not true but is not intended to deceive), he is interested only in the ideas of

the true and the false and in art "conceived in terms of communal participation," and that interest in fiction as artistic experience between an individual writer and reader is a later development. In "Truth and Untruth in Herodotus and Thucydides" J. Moles compares the two historians with latter-day epic composers who extol in prose their great wars, who somehow are able to judge the truth from the false, and who in generalizing from specifics can faithfully interpret for their readers the past — even if a fact or two must be manipulated. In "Lying Historians: Seven Types of Mendacity" T.P. Wiseman looks at seven ways in which historical inquiry and exposition are, even in ancient times, rendered less than truthful. Because of the powerful influence of dramatic presentations in the life of the average intelligent ancient writer and because of the pervasive influence of rhetoric in schools, ancient historians perhaps should not be judged too harshly for the addition of fictional material to their works. A. Laird, "Fiction, Bewitchment and Story World: the Implications of Claims of Truth in Apuleius," presents his chapter in a fashion opposite to that of Moles and Wiseman, who wished to demonstrate that historians added some fiction to a lot of fact, and shows how Apuleius made his fictional world believable by setting it into a sphere understandable to rational beings of normal experience. J.R. Morgan, "Make-Believe and Make Believe: the Fictionality of the Greek Novel," notes that the Greeks understood our concept of fiction without developing a critical theory for it. This lack of theory is surprising, as we follow Morgan who guides us through the many enterprising methods used by the ancient novelists to create a world of make-believe which often passes for a realistic one. In the concluding chapter, "Towards an Account of the Ancient World's Concept of Fictive Belief," D.C. Feeney directs his discussion to Newsome's duality: we try "to come to terms with the apprehension that art is something crafted *and* emotionally compelling or immediate." This book will profit and delight those scholars interested in poetry, philosophy, history or the ancient novel. (G.S.)

C. Murphy reports some gleanings from Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Page 345 [on dowries] "Petronius makes Trimalchio talk of 10 million (sesterces) as a dowry which he allowed to get away from him. This must be extremely large, especially in Trimalchio's social stratum, although Duncan-Jones is right to accuse Petronius of being uninventive in choosing figures". [A figure of one million sesterces for a senator is, however, considered plausible by Treggiari].

Pages 424-5 [discussing how busy the Roman

housewife was] "Petronius portrays the wealthy ex-slave Fortunata as vulgarly fussy during her dinner-party. She runs around everywhere and Trimalchio claims that she never joins the guests until the silver has been put away and the slaves have been fed with the left-overs. She takes her place with the guests at dessert, boasting of her housewifely zeal: she is *diligens materfamilias*." *Sat.* 37, 67. A footnote invites comparison with *Decl. min.* 301.20 on wives in modest households serving dinner to husband and guest; *Suet. de poetis* 67.7 for upper-class wives' responsibility.

Pages 464-5 [on the grounds for divorce in Roman society] "Unilateral divorce for incompatibility was less acceptable. Disobliging temper or incompatibility of character were occasionally alleged against a wife. But such claims might be seen as unconvincing or irresponsible. Trimalchio claims to be behaving like a good guy because he tolerates his infuriating wife instead of looking light-minded by divorcing her." *Sat.* 74:16.

NOTES

Notes on Editions and Translations of Petronius' Satyricon

by Heinz Peter Barandum (Zürich)

Looking through more than 300 editions and translations of the *Satyricon*, which I have assembled, I came across some items which seem not to have been included in G. Schmeling and J. Stuckey, *A Bibliography of Petronius* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), hereafter cited as S&S.

First there is S. Gaselee's, *A Short Bibliography of Petronius* (Cambridge, October 1903, privately printed, 8 pages); my copy dedicated by the compiler on Nov. 9, 1903 to John Mavrogordato.

Then there is the limited edition of the 1940's of a translation by De Guerle, illustrated by Joe Hamman, friend and assistant of Buffalo Bill, who after circus performances in Europe settled in Paris and became an illustrator. (Edition Littéraires de France, Paris, 4').

The first translation of the "Widow" appears in *Funérailles & diverses manières d'ensevelir des Romains, Grecs et autres nations, tant anciennes que modernes, descrites par Claude Guichard, etc.*, printed in Lyon 1582 by Jean de Tournes, 8°. It is the first translation of any sizeable part of the *Satyricon*. This fascinating book also contains 2 chapters with descriptions of funeral rites in the Americas.

The very first complete translation of the *Satyricon* in any language is S&S 433. My copy contains the following contemporary handwritten note: "Traduction complète vers et prose. Il n'y eu que 30 exemplaires de distribués en présent et l'on ne croit pas qu'il en existe trois ou quatre." A later comment dated Floréal 77 R.F.

(April/May 1871) says: "Le livre n'est indiqué ni dans Barbier ni dans Brunet. Il y a donc lieu de croire à l'authenticité de la note précédente. Acheté 1 F. 50, rue Lafayette." The book is dedicated to M. de Ch.- who could be François Galaup de Chasteuil, a close friend and may be even the reader of Petronius to the great Condé. Rather than a Marolles translation it more probably is by M. de Bouillon.

One of the greatest monuments of Petroniana (size, not quality) is the 1970 private printing, illustrated by Leonor Fini, based on a very badly interpolated version of the 1736 "Nodot".

The *Policraticus* by John of Salisbury (S&S 1295) was first printed in 1473. The second edition was printed in 1513 in Lyon, 8°, on extraordinarily fine paper. Its author Iohannes Saresberiensis was a close friend of Thomas Becket for whom he wrote his *Policraticus*. In that work he makes numerous references to Petronius and quotes themes from the fragment discovered in Trau 500 years later. My copy was bought in 1514 in Pavia by Pierre Faucon, the Swiss captain who signed the eternal peace treaty between François Ier, King of France, and the Swiss Confederation after the latter's defeat in Marignano 1515.

In the very first Italian translation *both* volumes are dated Brescia 1806 (S&S 571).

I found the evidence of publication for S&S 86 in *Acta Eruditorum*, Lipsiae in its February 1693 fascicule announcing the 1693 Rotterdam publication by R. Leers: T. Petronii Arbitri Satyricon NUNC DEMUM INTEGRUM.

I happen to have all the Japanese editions. S&S 631 was published in 1952, S&S 632 in 1956.

As is well known, a number of outstanding people became very much involved with Petronius. One of the most prominent of course was Voltaire who even made Petronius one of the subjects of his acceptance speech at the Académie Française on May 9, 1746. Petronius was also the subject of correspondence of May/June 1759 between Voltaire and Frederic II the Great, King of Prussia. Voltaire's *Pyrrhonisme de l'Histoire* 1768 in its chapter XIV deals with our author: "De Pétrone".

Another friend of Frederic the Great, the French philosopher Julien Offroy de la Mettrie (1709-1751), was a profound admirer of Petronius, to whom most of his *École de la Volupté*, published by the "Nymphs" in the island of "Calypso" in 1747, is dedicated:

"Pétrone donnerait envie de la lire à quiconque aurait seulement du goût pour le plaisir. Il conduit au temple de la volupté par un chemin tout fermé de fleurs... Que de grâces naïves et touchantes s'offrent de toutes parts! Comme il raconte l'histoire de l'Ecolier de Pergame! grands Dieux, l'aimable enfant! ... Avec quelle délicatesse cet auteur nous expose tous les genres de voluptés! rien ne révolte, rien n'effarouche la pudeur dans ses écrits... Les deux amans (sic) brûlans (sic)

d'amour, colés étroitement ensemble, agités, immobiles, se communiquaient des soupirs de feu... Que de mollesse! que de voluptés! quelle jouissance, grands Dieux! pourquoi qui sait aussi bien aimer, n'est-il pas immortel comme vous?"

Last but not least, Nietzsche in *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* and *Der Antichrist* gave a most admirable judgment on Petronius and the Roman world:

"Wer endlich dürfte gar eine deutsche Uebersetzung des Petronius wagen, der, mehr als irgendein grosser Musiker bisher, der Meister des *presto* gewesen ist, in Erfindung, Einfällen, Worten - was liegt zuletzt allen Sümpfen der Kranken, schlimmen Welt, auch der "alten Welt" wenn man, wie er, die Füße eines Windes hat, den Zug und Atem, den befreienden Hohn eines Windes, der alles gesund macht, indem er alles *laufen* macht. ... Jedes Buch wird reinlich, wenn man eben das neue Testament gelesen hat: ich las, um ein Beispiel zu geben, mit Entzücken unmittelbar nach Paulus jenen anmutigsten, übermütigsten Spötter Petronius, von dem man sagen könnte, was Domenico Boccaccio über Cesare Borgia an den Herzog von Parma schrieb: *e tutto festo* - unsterblich gesund, unsterblich heiter und wohl geraten."

I would like to add another few curiosities. Jean Cocteau's copy of the *Satyricon* (Nouvelle Traduction par le Citoyen D. XXXXX, 1803) (S&S 392) is inscribed with numerous notes and an unpublished poem in pencil by Cocteau on the back cover: "Les héros grecs sentant l'ail et l'huile d'olive, se couchant sur la plage au soleil de midi, etc., etc."

Then there is Laurent de Tailhade's manuscript translation made in 1902 during his stay at the prison La Santé in Paris. He ended up there following an article published at the end September 1901 in *Le Libérateur* in which he argued that Tsar Alexandre III should be assassinated during his forthcoming visit to Paris. The first edition of his famous translation was published by the Bibliothèque-Charpentier in 1902 (S&S 462). I also have the copy dedicated by Tailhade to his defense attorney at the 1901 trial: "A mon cher Maître Alfred Naquet en hommage de respectueuse amitié." Tailhade's *Satyricon* was made from the 1677 Audient edition (S&S 81).

Another prize is the dedication copy of the 1694 Nodot version (S&S 375) of Louis-Joseph Maréchal Duc de Bourbon-Vendôme, celebrated soldier and debauchee (about whom Saint-Simon wrote a famous account) of which I have the beautiful Morocco gilt copy with the arms of the Duc de Vendôme.

Under the chapter Petroniana can be added the "Comédie La Matronne d' Ephèse par Mr. D xxx, Paris, chez Pierre Ribou 1702", 8°, by Houdart de La Motte.

In *Et le feu s'éteignit sur la mer* written in 1909 by Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen, (who is the subject of Peyrefitte's well known book *L'Exilé de Capri*), dedicated by the author to a friend, we read the

statement: "Je travaille ici au Festin de Trimalcion". That work has not been discovered yet..

At present I am working on a new French translation of the *Satyricon* which will be published in a limited edition with the most lavish illustrations by a great Italian artist and friend of mine, Prince Montalto di Lequile e Fragnito. The prologue will be by Roger Peyrefitte.

Bertrand Russell's Petronian Moment

by Barry Baldwin

In the recent and acclaimed biography of Bertrand Russell by Caroline Morehead (London, 1992), this intriguing anecdote is given (pp. 82-3): "Russell had first gone walking with Moore [sc. the G.E. Moore of *Principia Ethica* fame] in May 1894, when they were waiting for the start of their tripos. On a road in Norfolk one day they fell in with another traveller, who seemed keen to discuss Petronius, and in particular his bawdier tales. Russell egged him on. When they parted, Moore was at first silent, then burst out saying that the man had been one of the vilest people he had ever met. Russell, who in other circumstances might have been as repelled as Moore—though later in his life he was to acquire a taste for risqué jokes—reported to Alys [sc. the first Mrs. Russell] smugly that Moore was too innocent and needed shaking up."

According to Morehead, the incident caused something of a rift between the two thinkers. Nothing more is said about the third man. One imagines the roads in Norfolk were not pullulating with Petronians even in those days. Nor is it specified which of the bawdier tales were laid under contribution. In the circumstances described, one rather hopes they include the scene in *Satyr.* 117 where Encolpius, Eumolpus, Corax, and Giton are journeying along the road with the latter two loudly competing in farts and insults.

Petronius does not recur in the biography. But this does make a nice early prelude to Russell's last and most cantankerous years when he fell under the personal and political spell of an American Trotskyist named Ralph Schoenman who (Morehead 503) had eyes of a "strange shade of amber" (shades of Nero and Poppaea's hair!) and "who looked a little like a Roman centurion."

Pliny the Elder and Petronius

by Barry Baldwin

A recent re-reading of Pliny's *NH* (all right, I admit to some skipping!) gave a good reminder of how often he can or may throw contemporary light (I here assume the Neronian dating) on items in Petronius. Here are a

few that seem not to have had their fair share of the spotlight.

At 43.7, the deceased Chrysanthus is described amongst other things as *corneolus* ("tough old thing," in the Loeb tr.). Martin Smith (who had a generally good eye for things Plinian) in his edition adduced *NH* 31.102, where the bodies of fishermen are called *cornea*. He would have done better to import 7.80, where the same adjective is applied to people whose bones are solid, without marrow, "a rather rare class." This kind of person has two characteristics: lack of thirst and inability to sweat. Chrysanthus is well suited here, being a man who went without water for five days and who left *solida centum*. Petronius would appear to be having some quiet linguistic and thematic fun here, especially as the next speaker goes on to recall another person who never sweated nor spat—Pliny's previous sentence credits the poet Pomponius Secundus, whose biography he wrote, with never expectorating.

The appearance of his famous Opimian wine (34.6) prompts Trimalchio to some morbid reflections about vintages living longer than men, encapsulating his cracker-barrel philosophy in the words *vinum vita est*. This looks plain enough, indeed banal. Yet Petronius may intend another sly dig. It was some suspect Opimian that has provoked Trimalchio's aphorism, but Pliny (14.77) vouchsafes the existence of a Greek wine actually called 'Life' (*appellaverunt bion*), very famous and of versatile medicinal use—this vintage is not in Trimalchio's cellar.

Pointing to a passage in Terence as evidence for a literary tradition of complaints about the price of food, Smith asserted that Ganymede's outburst on this subject (44.1f.) "should not be used as evidence for a precise date for the setting of the *Cena*." Fair enough, but it remains notable how similar in sentiment and language (e.g. *usque ad infimam plebem descendente annonae*) is a diatribe by Pliny (19.52-6) on food, luxury, and class distinction, a passage with contemporary bite and in the mention of people who drink snow and ice pointing at or back to Nero.

Vomiting puppies and ill-tempered guard dogs wreak temporary havoc (64.8-10) in Trimalchio's dining room. No comment from Smith, and one certainly does not want to weigh down a moment of canine slapstick with too many hypersubtleties. But when we read in Pliny (29.57-8) about the ritual crucifixion of dogs, the serving of puppy-flesh at religious banquets, and the debt mankind owes to our four-footed friends for "showing mankind the use of emetics", it does not seem farfetched to detect a note of pointed satire in Petronius' scene.

Finally, Trimalchio postludes his telling of the tale of the emperor and the inventor of unbreakable glass with the claim (52.3) that "I have the fights of Hermeros and Petraites on my cups." Thanks to the well known article (*TAPA* 89, 1958, 12-25) of H.T.

Rowell, this passage has been much used in the dating question. The frailties in Rowell's reasoning were well exposed by Smith. What he did not mention was that Pliny (39.195) follows up his version of the same story with the information that *Neronis principatu* a technique of glass-making was discovered which produced two expensive (6000 sesterces) cups *quos appellabant petrotos*. It is possible that Petronius credited the fights of Petraitis to Trimalchio here for the sake of pun (*Petratis/petrotos*) on a kind of vessel especially associated with Nero. It should be remembered that the other gladiator Hermeros owes his place in the text to Reinesius' emendation of H's *hermerotis*—earlier (33) in the same volume, Pliny had mentioned busts called *Hermerotes* as belonging to the famous collection of Asinius Pollio, another punning possibility for Petronius.

Although the Arbiter stands as the proper subject of our magazine, it is worth subjoining how many and varied are the delights provided by the *NH*. F.R. Goodyear, in his crabby notice of it in that largely futile titan *The Cambridge History of Latin Literature*, was probably right in saying that "the size and technicality of the *Natural History* condemn it to few readers," but he was certainly wrong to continue, "and, after all, the information provided is now mainly of antiquarian interest." Petronians will all know one thing about Pliny: he (37.20) amplifies Tacitus' account of the Arbiter's last supper with the story of how he smashed his valuable myrrhine dipper, to spite Nero. The old polymath's frequent remarks about the size and price of fish lend extra dimension to Juvenal's fourth satire. His preservation (27.4) of Caelius' courtroom claim that Calpurnius Bestia killed his wives by touching their genitals with a finger dipped in a special poison gives us a bit of murderous technology that not even Ian Fleming thought of. The wisdom of many generations of football coaches is challenged by his assertion (28.58) that athletes are made *more* energetic, not less, by sexual intercourse. What truth there is in his claim (28.106) that effeminate men are cured, indeed turned into paragons of virtue, by the application of the ashes of an hyena's anal hairs mixed with oil, I do not venture to say—it does, however, send one back to Petronius account (138) of the weird farrago of herbs and other items (Colonel Sanders, take note!) applied to the flagging Encolpius by Oenothra.

Il fascino des idées reçues

by Maria Salanitro

Nel vol. 23 di questo *Newsletter* (p. 13 sg.) Nicholas Horsfall ha contestato la mia ipotesi che la città che fa da sfondo alla *Cena* di Trimalchione sia Capua con dodici rapide obiezioni. Qui discuto solo

quelle che sono più palesemente in contrasto con le informazioni fornite dal testo petroniano.

1) Horsfall ritiene che Nicerote, pranzando nella città A, racconta la storia del lupo mannaro (61, 6-9; 62, 1-14) ambientata nella città B. Ciò è smentito dal contesto: prima di dire che il suo padrone si è allontanato dal luogo di residenza (cioè, come ritengo, da Capua: in 62.1 infatti credo che si debba leggere *Capua exierat*, vd. *A&R* 37, 1992, p. 189 sgg.) Nicerote ha detto che la casa padronale si trovava *in vico angusto* e che quella stessa casa è ora abitata da Gavilla (*nunc Gavillae domus est*). Ciò significa che ai commensali di Trimalchione il luogo era ben noto, come ben noti erano l'oste Terenzio e la moglie Melissa (*noveratis Melissam Tarentinam*). L'episodio straordinario narrato da Nicerote avviene lungo la strada che collega la città di Trimalchione con la zona suburbana in cui sorgeva la fattoria, dove si erano momentaneamente trasferiti Terenzio e Melissa. Non è possibile quindi sostenere che Nicerote sta cenando in una città diversa da quella in cui è accaduto il fatto. La favola del lupo mannaro ha come scenario la campagna limitrofa alla grande città in cui si svolge la cena.

2) All'argomento del rilievo che ha nel nostro testo l'uso dei profumi Horsfall obietta che ciò non prova che i profumi sono "made in Capua". Dimentica che Trimalchione (76,6) nomina fra i prodotti da lui esportati anche il *sepladium* e forse non è un caso che qui e solo qui Petroni usi, invece del consueto *unguentum*, il termine *sepladium*, quasi ad evidenziare il riferimento ad un prodotto della "sua" *Seplasia*.

3) Secondo Horsfall la presenza nei discorsi di Trimalchione e dei colliberti di proverbi e modi di dire di ambiente agricolo-pastorale non inficia l'ipotesi pozzuolana, perché i proverbi sono patrimonio comune. Sono grata allo studioso per aver richiamato l'attenzione su un aspetto determinante della questione, dandomi così l'opportunità di colmare una lacuna del mio articolo.

Chiunque abbia dimestichezza con la bibliografia petroniana sa che la rusticità della lingua quotidiana della *Cena* è stata più volte evidenziata. Né ormai sussistono dubbi su quello che viene definito il realismo di Petronio, la sua cura nel caratterizzare l'individualità dei personaggi con il loro comportamento e il loro linguaggio. Ma lo scrupoloso realismo di Petronio non può limitarsi alla minuziosa ricostruzione degli usi, delle credenze, della concezione del mondo e dei moduli espressivi dei suoi personaggi, esso deve necessariamente estendersi alla ricostruzione dell'ambiente socio-economico. E nella *Cena* non c'è alcun elemento, se si prescinde dai commerci che hanno reso ricco Trimalchione, che faccia pensare ad una città marittima. Aveva scritto il Buecheler (ed. 1862, p. IX): *accedit quod in crebris sermonibus quibus commoda et incommoda coloniae vitaeque vulgi inter cenantes versantur, paene nulla fit mercaturae ac rerum*

nauticarum mentio, quarum adfluentia Puteolanum emporium celebrabatur, C'è da precisare che nessuno dei colliberti esercita un mestiere che abbia un rapporto col mare, né alcun riferimento al mare c'è nel discorso con cui Ganimede descrive la condizione politica e economica della città, la cui prosperità dipende esclusivamente dalla produzione agricola, dagli *agri* resi desolati dalla mancanza di poggio. Né va dimenticato che tre dei cinque prodotti di cui Trimalchione carica le sue navi (*vinum, lardum, faba*) rinviano ad una società agricolo-pastorale. E alla luce di queste considerazioni diventano significativi anche particolari a prima vista insignificanti: l'*anicula* che si prende gioco di Ascilto (6,4) vende *agreste holus*, la scena del mantello (14, 3 sgg.) ha tra i protagonisti un *rusticus*, Pompeo Diogene *solebat collo suo ligna portare* (38,7), Crisanto ha fatto fortuna vendendo vino (43,4), Echione (46,1) cita l'espressione di un *rusticus* ("modo sic, modo sic", *inquit rusticus*), Trimalchione fa riferimento alla cucina contadina (47,10: *gallum enim gallinaceum, penthiacum et eiusmodi nenias rustici faciunt*), nel luogo in cui Trimalchione ha costruito il suo bagno c'era prima un mulino (73,2). Questi elementi potrebbero sembrare poco cogenti se non fossero corroborati dalla presenza massiccia e martellante nei discorsi di Trimalchione e dei suoi commensali non solo di proverbi ma anche di moduli espressivi, di comparazioni e di insulti rispecchianti un ambiente agricolo-pastorale. Che tutto ciò in uno scrittore realista come Petronio non poteva essere casuale aveva compreso il Lommatzsch, quando aveva sostenuto, con eccessiva concisione, che la città di Trimalchione era una città di *rusticuli*, di tutto ciò devono tener conto e devono dar ragione coloro che, pur ammettendo il realismo di Petronio, continuano a ritenere che la città sia Pozzuoli.

[Editor's Note: In a letter N. Horsfall states that he believes that M. Salanitro has not dealt with the substantial arguments (of D'Arms, etc.) in favor of Puteoli, that she has reacted to only three of his twelve points from *PSN* 23 (1993) 13, and that at this time he prefers to forego a formal reply.]

A New 'Petronian' Epigram

by Rod Boroughs

Contrary to Scobie's assertion that Petronius is never mentioned in any Spanish picaresque novel (*Aspects of the Ancient Romance and its Heritage*, B.Z.K.P. 30 [Meisenheim am Glan, 1969], p. 95), the author of the *Satyrica* is to be found cited by name in a lesser-known example of the genre: *Alonso, moço de muchos amos o El donado hablador* by Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez de Ribera (Part I, Madrid, 1624; Part II, Valladolid, 1626).

In Part II, Chapter 5, the narrator attacks marriage as a terrible misfortune and attributes the same opinion to 'Petronius Arbiter': 'Petronio Arbitro, poeta, aborrecia el casamiento de suerte, que en sus versos dijo:

Pessima res uxor, poterit tamen utilis esse,
Si breviter moriens det tibi quidquid habet.'

These verses are not elsewhere ascribed to Petronius; they are not even cited in the appendices of the early editions of our author, which comprise a number of poems that are no longer regarded as authentic. The epigram is to be found, however, in Hans Walther, *Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina*, II/3 *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Göttingen, 1965), p. 814, no. 21435. Walther does not give the name of an author, and from the sources that he cites it is only possible to trace the poem back as far as a collection of Latin verse produced in Germany in the eighteenth century—Dr. Andreas Sutor, *Latinum Chaos. Ein Teutsches durch einander von unterschiedlichen Sachen...* (Augsburg, 1716), p. 515, 'Matrimonium' no. 48—, where it also goes unattributed.

How Alcalá came to make this spurious attribution is not clear. But there is another epigram expressing a jaundiced view of marriage which went under Petronius's name in the sixteenth century:

Uxor legitimus debet quasi census amari
Nec censum vellem semper amare meum.
(Scaliger, *Catalecta*, p. 238; Ernout fr. 43)

It may be then that Alcalá had consulted an anthology of Latin verse and confused two epigrams on similar themes; and his reference to Petronius as a 'poet' would seem to support this hypothesis. However, there are good reasons for supposing that Alcalá was aware of the *Satyrica* as a whole. For like almost all the Spanish picaresque novelists, Alcalá was well-grounded in classical literature, having studied classics and theology at the University of Alcalá in the late sixteenth century; and we know that editions of Petronius were circulating in Spain by this time—early editions are well-represented in the major Spanish libraries, as well as being cited in the indices of prohibited books which were regularly issued during the period of the Spanish Inquisition. Besides, the *Alonso* also contains a number of likely reminiscences of the *Satyrica's* prose narrative. At the beginning of the novel (Part I, Chapter 1), for example, the hero, Alonso, who is recounting his life to the vicar of the convent in which he is a lay-brother, criticises the dissolute life led by the students he had known at the University of Salamanca. The blame he lays squarely on the shoulders of the indulgent parents who give their children everything they desire:

'Hay padres que son causa de la perdicion de sus hijos por las malas costumbres con que los criaron, ciegos con el amor y aficion de hijos, no poniendo freno á sus libertades, dejándolos seguir el camino de los vicios, adonde, como libres, sin orden ni gobierno vienen á perderse. ...'

The *Satyrical* also opens with a dialogue between the hero, Encolpius, and an older figure of authority and learning, Agamemnon. And Alonso's remarks echo the complaints made by Agamemnon about the parents of his students—'parentes obiurgatione digni sunt, qui nolunt liberos suos severa lege proficere...' (4.1ff).

Another Silly Pun in Petronius (Sat. 34.10)

by Michael Hendry

After serving his guests *Falernum Opimianum annorum centum* (labeled as such) and exhibiting his flexible silver skeleton (34.6-9), Trimalchio recites three lines of (for him) surprisingly competent verse (34.10):¹

*eheu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est!
sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus.
ergo uiuamus, dum licet esse bene.*

It has been suggested more than once that *esse* in the third line is one of Trimalchio's too numerous puns, and should be taken as both *esse* (from *sum*) and *esse* (from *edo*): *esse bene* would then mean not only "enjoy ourselves" (M.S. Smith, *ad loc.*, with parallels), but also "eat well".² The second meaning would be particularly appropriate in this context, the last sentence of chapter 34. After the *gustatio* (31-33), the guests have been mostly drinking in 34, while 35 ushers in the zodiac dish. Eating well and enjoying themselves will then be synonymous.

In support of the pun, B. Baldwin has adduced two passages of Plautus, *Persa* 113 and *Vidularia* 38, where *esse/esse* puns are likely, though not provable.³ There is an even better parallel in Martial's *Ἀποφόρητον* 14.70, where the pun on *esse* and *esse* is unmistakable:⁴

[*Priapus siligineus*]

*Si uis esse satur, nostrum potes esse Priapum;
ipsa licet rodas inguina, purus eris.*

Although this is one of the more bizarre of Martial's *Realien*, and the point is not strictly relevant to Petronius, I can report a modern parallel. Ten or twelve years ago, a bakery in Annapolis, Maryland, attracted a good deal of publicity, most of it negative, with their anatomically-correct gingerbread-men and gingerbread-women. As I recall, complaints from state legislators

forced them to start keeping the pastries concealed under the counter and to check their customer's IDs to make sure they were old enough to purchase pornographic objects.

To return to Petronius, it seems to me that Trimalchio's little poem is not so much an impromptu comment on his *larua argentea* as a carefully-rehearsed pseudo-impromptu,⁵ designed to provide a transition to the zodiac dish, and that the pun on *esse* and *esse* is an essential part of the introduction to that dish. If we look at the immediate context, the fact that the silver skeleton of 34.6-9 is not only dead but very thin is surely pertinent—*sic erimus cuncti*: skinny, unfed, and entirely without digestive apparatus.⁶ We have good reason to wish to enjoy ourselves now, and eating well will be the most appropriate way to do so.⁷

Taking *esse bene* in 34.10 as a pun may also help to explain the following sentence, *laudationem ferculum est insecutum plane non pro expectatione magnum* (35.1), which has caused difficulty. Smith says "this is too bald to satisfy" and seems to assume that the *laudatio* is provided by the guests, as indeed it was a few lines before (*laudatus propter elegantias dominus*, 34.5). For the same reason, Müller in his first edition — the idea is suppressed in the second and third, and I have not seen the fourth — proposed inserting a lacuna between the two chapters. H. Fuchs made the usual assumption explicit by proposing to read *laudationem <nostram>*.⁸ On the other hand, Hirschfeld (apud Friedlaender) and Ernout (in the Budé) take Trimalchio's *laudatio* as the mock *laudatio funebris* which Trimalchio has just delivered over his toy skeleton.⁹ P. Perrochat mentions both possibilities without deciding between them, though the two are hardly compatible.¹⁰

It seems to me likely that the *laudatio* is not the guests' flattery of Trimalchio, but partly, as Hirschfeld and Ernout have it, his *laudatio funebris*, and mostly his praise of his own food as expressed in the poem, particularly in the crucial (and excruciating) pun. This interpretation is more in line with Trimalchio's character, especially his *putidissima iactatio* (73.2). Perhaps more important, we know from the reaction of the guests (*non pro expectatione magnum*), that they were expecting something rather grand for the first *ferculum*. No doubt this is mostly from what they know or have already seen of Trimalchio's character, but it is most plausible if they have been told to expect some such thing. Whether a punning invitation to enjoy themselves and at the same time to eat well is quite sufficient to justify their high expectations or to qualify as a *laudatio* of the food, is a difficult question.¹¹ Consequently, even if the *laudatio* is Trimalchio's own, some might wish to read *<hanc> laudationem* or something similar in 35.1. But if I am right no large change or lacuna is needed. Of course, in such a swamp as the text of Petronius, we can never be very confident in ruling out a lacuna.

NOTES

- 1 Omitting one pentameter and ending the other with a pyrrhic are very small potatoes by Trimalchio's standards of illiteracy. The fact that the lines scan at all is surely significant. They are certainly far less incompetent than the three lines recited in 55.3, though the difference in quality is conceivably due to the vagaries of transmission or to the amount of wine drunk in the intervening chapters.
- 2 Mostly recently by H. Huxley and B. Baldwin in *CJ* 66 (1970) 69-70 and 254-5, respectively. (The series began with A.F. Sochatoff's aspersions on the quality of the poem in *CJ* 65, 1969-70, 340-44, and continued with notes by E.J. Barnes and N.J. Woodall in *CJ* 66, 255 and 256-7.) Baldwin repeated his suggestion and fortified it with parallels and further arguments in "Petronius 34.10" (*Maia* 31, 1979, 145 = *Studies on Greek and Roman History and Literature*, Amsterdam, 1985, 155). In fact, the idea that *esse bene* is a pun goes back at least to T. Marcilius (1604), who is quoted by Burman, *ad loc.*: "Lusit dilogia, dum licet esse in vita, aut edere." Burman also quotes an Anonymous who is rather more explicit: "Fortasse esse est pro edere, ut ex ambiguitate gratiam loco quaesierit, & praesentem instructum atque apparatus senserit." There were apparently others who read the line this way, since Burman, a bit further on, rejects the punning interpretation with this comment: "Alii esse exposuerunt, edere. Sed male." The idea has no doubt occurred to other readers before and since, and the number of separate occurrences is a strong argument in favor of it. In the latest discussion of these verses, J. Bodel rather takes the pun for granted: "The typically atrocious pun on 'eating' and 'being' in the final phrase (*esse* < and *edo*) articulates one of his fundamental concerns: for Trimalchio, living is eating", "Trimalchio's Underworld", in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search For the Ancient Novel*, Baltimore and London, 1994, 237-59, at 237.
- 3 See his note in *Maia*, referenced in note 2 above.
- 4 The fact that Martial is later than Petronius is irrelevant, since the point in question is whether Romans generally would have recognized a pun on these two words: I take it that Baldwin is not suggesting direct Petronian imitation of Plautus.
- 5 Not carefully enough, if the unusual metrical scheme is intended to suggest that he has forgotten one of the pentameters. The fact that the syntax is complete makes it more likely that this is an intentional omission by Petronius, intended to characterize Trimalchio as a bumbler who has unintentionally omitted a line. Consequently, I see no need to mark a lacuna, with Scaliger, or interpolate an appropriate pentameter, with Tornaesius and Scriverius.
- 6 It appears that the skeleton is used as a kind of stage-prop to support and justify the pun which introduces the next course. The variant *nil erimus cuncti* of the secondary tradition, taking up *nil est*, is attractive only if we do not consider the context.
- 7 There may of course be a similar pun on *nil est* as well. If the *homuncio* is the *larua argentea*, rather than

humanity in general, it indeed "eats nothing". Since the former is more or less symbolic of the latter, I do not see that either can be ruled out.

- 8 "Verderbnisse im Petrontext", in H. Dahlmann and R. Merkelbach (edd.), *Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik*, Köln 1959, 57-82, at page 62: no argument is offered. Buecheler's apparatus gives the same interpretation without changing the text: "*laudationem cogites poetae Trimalchionis per coniuvas factam*".
- 9 "Hirschfeld versteht unter *laudatio* hier die Leichenrede", L. Friedlaender, *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis*, Leipzig, 1906², *ad loc.*
- 10 *Le Festin de Trimalcion*, Paris, 1962 *ad loc.*
- 11 The fact that the invitation is expressed in rather lofty, though imperfect verses, and backed up by the use of the skeleton as a prop, suggests that it is intended to do so.

Trimalchio's Canis Catenarius: A Simple Solution?

by Michael Hendry

A well-known problem in the *Cena Trimalchionis* is the change from the painted watchdog which greets Encolpius and company on their entrance (29.1) to the live (and quite lively) dog which prevents them from leaving (72.7-9). It has been argued that this is a deliberate pairing, part of the elaborate ring-composition of the *Cena*, and J. Bodel points to the similarity of the narrator's reaction in each case as emphasizing the echo: in 29.1, Encolpius is knocked over by the sight, while 72.7 Ascyrtos falls into the fishpool and Encolpius is dragged in with him.¹ Some will have it that the painted dog has somehow come to life in the interval,² or is a warning notice for the real one.³ While not wishing to discount the fantastic (and phantasmagoric) effects of the *Satyricon*, I suggest that a more naturalistic explanation is possible, or rather two quite different naturalistic explanations.

According to the first solution, which I consider the less likely of the two, this is another of Trimalchio's elaborate practical jokes, and we are to understand that he has arranged to have the actual dog Scylax substituted for the painted dog during dinner, perhaps immediately after 64.7-10.⁴ This would certainly ensure that none of the guests could leave by the same door by which they had entered, as indeed we see happen. Trimalchio is undoubtedly fond of elaborate practical jokes, and sometimes combines silliness with cruelty or threats of cruelty: an example is the ungutted pig of 49, whose cook is stripped for flogging. On the other hand, the threats of violence are generally directed only at the slaves, and are not followed through. In fact, Trimalchio's threats have a way of turning into jokes. Our passage would reverse this procedure, with the silly joke-dog turning into an all-too-real and not at all friendly one: this is one reason why I prefer my

second solution. We might even read the painted dog's label, *caue canem*, as implying a further warning: "watch out for the watchdog, which is not necessarily this picture of a dog" — "ceci n'est pas un chien", as it were. In any case, my first interpretation resembles Courtney's (note 3 above) in taking the first dog as a warning of the second. However, I take the warning as an ironic label accompanying a planned practical joke and intended to be heeded only when it is too late, whereas Courtney, I think, takes it as a straightforward and unironic "Beware of Dog" notice.

My second solution to the watch-dog problem is just as naturalistic, though not, I think, drierly so. Simply put, the dog is still painted in 72.7-9, but the guests are too drunk to tell the difference.⁵ After all, even when sober, Encolpius had been knocked off his feet by his first sight of the painted dog. Although a second look should come as much less of a shock, they have drunk a great deal in the interval between entrance and attempted exit, more than enough, surely, to outweigh any advantage from prior acquaintance.⁶ I prefer my second solution mostly because it seems wittier. Indeed, the picture of Encolpius and his companions bouncing their morsels of food off a wall-painting, under the impression that it is greedily snapping them up, is one I find irresistible.⁷ One final, though rather speculative, point might also be put in the scales on the side of the second interpretation. If, as now seems generally agreed, Petronius is parodying *Aeneid* VI, with the dog (or pair of dogs) standing in for Cerberus,⁸ then a false dream would be very much in order here. Of course, a drunken hallucination is not the same thing as a false dream, and they do not succeed in exiting by this gate in any case, which is why I call the point speculative.

Notes

- 1 J. Bodel, "Trimalchio's Underworld", in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, Baltimore and London, 1994, 237-59, with further bibliography at 255 n. 24.
- 2 A recent example is N.W. Slater, who is rightly a bit tentative: "As the creations of Trimalchio's imagination grow more and more dominant, it is perhaps significant to see this watchdog [the one in 72.7-9] as the painted one first encountered now come alive", *Reading Petronius*, Baltimore and London, 1990, 77 n. 66.
- 3 E. Courtney, "Petronius and the Underworld", *AJP* 108, 1987, 408-10: "the chained dog which they had been warned about before". That there is a real watchdog in the house, in addition to the painted one, is clear from 64.7-10, where Scylax, *ingentis formae . . . canis catena uinctus* and *praesidium domus familiaeque*, is sent for and shown to the guests, with unfortunate results. We are not told how or when he leaves after attacking Margarita, or where he goes, but

it is plausible enough to suppose that he has been sent to his guardpost, to appear again in 72.7-9. That is certainly L. Friedlaender's assumption in his note on 72: "*canis catenarius*: der 64 vom ostiarius ins triclinium gebrachte" (*Petronii Cena Trimalchionis*, Leipzig, 1906²). If Friedlaender is right in identifying the dog which attacks the guests in 72.7-9 with Scylax, the only question is why he was not at his station in 29.1. If he was asleep down the hall somewhere, he is not much of a watchdog, and the whole point of the chain is to prevent him from leaving his post, except when sent for by his master.

- 4 Since the dog of 29.1 was painted right on the wall (*in pariete*), he is doubtless still there, but departing guests would hardly be likely to notice once they had seen and heard the real one. Consequently we need not assume that a tapestry has been hung over the picture or that Scylax is standing in front of it and concealing it, or anything along those lines.
- 5 Where is Scylax in 72.7-9? Wherever he was in 29.1, I suppose. If the dog in 72.7-9 is Scylax, we might except Encolpius to notice, unless all vicious dogs look the same to him.
- 6 Although it would be easy enough to count up the references to drinking in the intervening pages, it should suffice to point to *ebrius* in our chapter (*nec non ego quoque ebrius [qui etiam pictum timueram canem,] dum natanti opem fero, in eundem gurgitem tractus sum*, 72.7) and *ebrietate discussa* in the next (73.5). The two passages support each other, so Jahn's *exterritus* for *ebrius* (72.7) can be dismissed. (Müller's excision of the *qui*-clause, though abandoned in his third edition, with W. Ehlers, *Artemis*, 1983, seems necessary: it looks like an early and unsuccessful attempt to deal with the two-dog problem.)
- 7 The fact that it does not actually bite them would tend to make them believe that the tactic had worked. Since they were no doubt intending to live on their takings for a while, their voluntarily throwing all the precious leftovers away, although they are in no danger, is almost pathetic. The fact that the *atriensis*, who must surely know that the dog is painted, apparently helps rescue them from it, is not necessarily an objection, since we have only Encolpius' version of the events, and his might have been quite different.
- 8 Courtney's article (note 3 above) is probably the most important, while Bodel (note 1 above) gives the most up-to-date bibliography on the question.