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# THE PETRONIAN SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

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Vol. 48, November 2023

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## Sixth International Conference on the Ancient Novel: Roads Less Travelled

Ghent University (Belgium), 21-24 September 2022

Immense gratitude is owed to Drs. Koen de Temmerman and Evelien Bracke and their conference team for arranging a very successful meeting of *novelistas* far and wide. You can find the provisional conference programme [here](#).

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1. "Introduction," Marília P. Futre Pinheiro
2. "Introduction," J. R. Morgan
3. "Recognition in the Greek Novels Introduction," Alain Billault
4. "'Similar to Artemis or to the Golden Aphrodite': *Topoi* of Nuptial Poetry and Rhetoric in the Greek Novel," Cecilia Nobili
5. "*Carpe diem, Carpe*: Horace, Petronius, and the Satirical Rhetoric of the Novel," Ilaria Marchesi
6. "Callirhoe's Silenced Dilemma (*Chariton* 6,7,13)," Silvia Montiglio
7. "Literary Mimesis and Amatory Rhetoric in Xenophon of Ephesus," Konstantin Doulamis
8. "Apuleius, Phaedrus, Martial and the Intersection of Genres," Silvia Mattiacci
9. "Tragedy and Paratragedy in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*," Maria Pia Pattoni
10. "From Dolon to Dorcon: Echoes of *Rhesus* in Longus," Vayos Liapis

11. "The Village of Chemmis in the *Aithiopika*: Heliodorus' Rewriting of Historiographical Tradition," M. Teresa Clavo Sebastián
12. "The Mother-daughter Romance and Heroic *Nostos* in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*," Aara Suksi
13. "Traditional Poetic Elements in Byzantine Verse Novels, Especially Niketas Eugenianos, *Drosilla and Charikles*," Edwin D. Floyd

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2. "Odyssean and Herodotean Threads in the *Tainia* of Heliodorus' Opening Chapters (1.1–5)," Ewen Bowie
3. "Visualizing Assemblages: Demaenete, Thisbe's Bed-Trick, and the Creation of Charicleia (1.15–17)," Helen Morales
4. "Thisbe's Intrigue: A Plot between Deception and Illusion (1.15–17)," Jonas Grethlein
5. "Theagenes' Second Lament (2.4)," Stephen M. Trzaskoma
6. "Cnemon Meets Calasiris (2.21–2)," Alain Billault
7. "Allegory, Recognition, and Identity: The Egyptian Homer in Context (3.11.5–15.1)," Lawrence Kim
8. "The Mustering of the Delphians (4.19–21)," Tim Whitmarsh
9. "Calasiris on Zacynthus and His Dream of Odysseus (5.17–22)," Michael Paschalis
10. "Life, the Cosmos, and Everything (5.26–34)," Ken Dowden
11. "On the Road Again (6.1–4)," Silvia Montiglio
12. "Charicleia's Dark Night of the Soul (6.8–11)," David Konstan
13. "Epic into Drama (7.6–8)," Richard Hunter
14. "Enter Arsace and Her Entourage! Lust, Gender, Ethnicity, and Class at the Persian Court (Books 7 and 8)," Froma I. Zeitlin
15. "Sending the Reader Round the Bend (8.14–17)," Ian Repath

16. “The Siege of Syene: Ekphrasis and Imagination (9.3),” Ruth Webb
17. “Sphragis 1: To Infinity and Beyond (10.41.4),” Tim Whitmarsh
18. “Sphragis 2: The Limits of Reality and the End of the Novel (10.41.3–4),” Ian Repath

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## Nachleben

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## Notices

### The Classical Association Annual Conference, April 8–11, 2022, Swansea University

#### Panel: KYKNOS: Research on the Ancient Novels (§1)

- Repath, Ian, "Achilles Tatius: Erotic Trees and Amorous Allegory"
- Jolowicz, Daniel, "Priapus on Lesbos? Philetas in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*"
- Kanavou, Nikoleta, "On Two New Ancient Greek 'Novels'"

#### Panel: KYKNOS: Research on the Ancient Novels (§2)

- Costantini, Leonardo, "Re-framing the Festival of Laughter (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.32–3.12)"
- Bird, Rachel, "Falling in Love with Love: Echoes of Greek Novels in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* IV.28–VI.24"
- Demerre, Olivier, "A Pun in the Ass. (H)aemulatio of Chariton's *Callirhoe* in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*"

#### Panel: KYKNOS: Research on the Ancient Novels (§3)

- Jackson, Claire Rachel, "Chariton's *Callirhoe*, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, and Early Novelistic Receptions"

- D'Alconzo, Nick, "Novels in Quotation Culture: The Case of Niketas Choniates"

#### In Panel: Meroe and Nubia in the Classical and Post-classical World

- Ashby, Solange, "Isis, Mistress of the Southern Lands: From Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* to Meroe, an Ancient Kingdom on the Nile"

### The Classical Association Annual Conference, April 21–23, 2023, University of Cambridge

#### In Panel 16 – Alternative Receptions

- Bozia, Eleni, "A Human Ass, Vine Women, and a Nation of Trees: Understanding Otherness from Apuleius and Lucian to Holberg and Achebe"

#### In Panel 23 – The Second Sophistic

- Jackson, Claire Rachel, "'A Beauty Not Human but Divine': Wonder, Belief and Fiction in Chariton's *Callirhoe* and Its Early Reception"

#### Panel 53 – Christian Reading, Writing and Performing in the Roman Context

- Corsar, Elizabeth, "Epistolary Fiction Among Early Christian Authors: 1, 2, 3 John as Graeco-Roman Fictive Letters?"
- Parkhouse, Sarah, "Fatal Charades and the Martyrdom of Perpetua"
- Fowler, Kimberley, "Variations of Christian Pseudepigraphy in Their Wider Cultural Context"

#### In Panel 57 – Classics in Novel and Film

- Smets, Simon, "Comparative Insights into Apuleius' *Golden Ass* and Robert Bresson's *Au Hasard Balthazar*"

### XVI Congreso Internacional de Estudios Clásicos de la Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques (FIEC) Ciudad De México 1–5 / Agosto / 2022

- Saracino, Maria Florencia, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, "Cuerpo, identidad y sentido en la *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*"

### 117th Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, April 7–10, 2021, Virtual, Cleveland, Ohio

#### Panel: The Greek Novel

- Martin, Carissa, "Subverting Sexual Symmetry: Reading Power and Gender in the Didactic Patterns of *Callirhoe* and the *Ephesiaca*"
- Lang, Adlai E., "Asymmetry and Variety in *Ephesian Tale*"
- Slater, Niall W., "The Home Life of a Heroine: The Winter of Chloe's Discontent in Longus"
- Deacon, Elizabeth Schae, "Dionysophanes' Atypical Role"
- Adkins, Evelyn, "The Goatherd and the Shepherdess: *Daphnis and Chloe* for Children."

**Panel: Latin Novel**

- Cushing, Alex, “*Obligati tam grandi beneficio*: Satirization of Compassionate Manumission in the *Satyricon*”
- Liu, Tianran, “Bestiality and Female Lust in the Roman and Chinese Novel”
- Sansone, Claudio, “Petronius’ Ajax”
- Alvares, Jean, “Artagatis, Cybele, Isis and Lucius at Rome”
- Cromley, Deborah, “*Pythias me inuadit*: Perilous Interpellation in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*”

**118th Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, March 23–26, 2022, Winston-Salem, North Carolina**

**Panel: The Ancient Novel**

- Downie, Janet, “Bovine Hoofs and Epicene Sexuality: Natural History as Intertextual Space in Moschus’ *Europa* and Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*”
- Lang, Adlai E., “Translating Whiteness: Color Aesthetics and the Early Modern Reception of *Daphnis and Chloe*”
- Alvares, Jean, “Ideal Themes in Petronius’ *Satyricon*”
- Cromley, Deborah, “At ego: An Unsettling Refrain in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*”

**Society of Biblical Literature, San Antonio, Texas, November 20–23, 2021**

**Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative**

- Smith, Tyler, Universität Salzburg, “Differences in the Characterization of Mordecai as Dream Interpreter as a Clue to the Textual History of AT and LXX-Esther Addition A”
- Minets, Yuliya, “‘The Life of Euphemia and Goth’: Violence, Treachery, and Shifting Identities in a Sixth-Century Edessene Narrative”
- Hoke, Jimmy, “Beauty, Thrown to the Beasts: Thecla’s Lawless Asexuality”
- Saltz, Jared W., “‘An Absolutely True Story’: Plato, Hecataeus of Abdera, and the Jews”
- Wines, Megan, “Broken Chains, Open Doors, and Mad Women: Prison Escape Narratives in Euripides’ *Bacchae* and Acts of the Apostles”

**Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative**

**Review Panel for Maia Kotrosits’ *The Lives of Objects***

- Eric Vanden Eykel, Ferrum College, Presiding
- Ben Dunning, Fordham University, Panelist
- Janet Spittler, University of Virginia, Panelist
- C. M. Chin, University of California-Davis, Panelist
- Nicola Denzey Lewis, Claremont Graduate University, Panelist
- Maia Kotrosits, Denison University, Respondent

**Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative**

- Bultman, Rebecca, “Archangels in Drag: Disguise, Tears, and Recognition in the Testament of Abraham”

- Bilby, Mark G., “Murder, Madness, Mending, Mission, Mates, Mars Hill, and Mob Justice: The Characterization of Paul as a New Orestes in the Canonical Acts of the Apostles”
- Skelton, David A., “Music Is from the Devil: How David Rescues Music from Its Antediluvian Demise”
- de Bruin, Tom, “Ancient Fanfiction and the Expanded Universe”
- Stell, Elizabeth, “Fear and the Disquieting Edges of Dream in the Exagoge of Ezekiel and Beyond”

**Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative**

**Theme: Teaching Ancient Fiction**

A session on teaching ancient fiction in the undergraduate and graduate classroom.

- Glass, R. Gillian, “Choose Your Own Romance: Teaching Greek Romances in Their Imperial Context”
- Herniques, James C., “‘Here Is a Story I Can Vouch for Myself’: Separating History from Fiction in Ancient Epistles as a Pedagogical Exercise”
- Sellick, Jeannie, “Be the Filmmaker/Heretic: Introducing Undergrads to the Range of Ancient (Fan)Fictions”

**Society of Biblical Literature, Denver, Colorado, November 10–22, 2022**

**Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative**

**Theme: Fictional Masculinities**

Papers in this session explore various conceptions and constructions of “masculinity” in ancient fiction.

- Peppard, Michael, “Bearing a Jewish Weight: A New Reading of Papyrus CPJ 519”
- Sellick, Jeannie, “Not Like Other Boys: Chastity and the Toxicity of ‘Acting like Men’ in Joseph and Aseneth”
- King, Joshua, “The Gender of Prophecy: Masculinity and the True Prophet in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies
- Mena, Peter Anthony, “Encountering Pelagia: Performing Masculinity and the Sense of Brown”
- Perkins, Alexander D., “Fictional Unmasculinity: The Character of the Cinaedus and Its Consequences”

**Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative**

**Theme: *Apocryphal Acts***

- Crabbe, Kylie, “Sexual Violence in the Acts of John: Conflations of Violence and Desire in a Portrait of Celibacy”
- Freeburn, Bailey, “Violated Visionary: On Voyeurism, Queerness, and Violence in Act 6 of the Acts of Thomas”
- Kinnunen, Moona, “Queering Polymorphic Jesus in the Acts of John”
- Chan, Acacia, “Mary Sues and Rebellious Apostles: A Fan Fiction Theory Reading of the Acts of Matthias and Andrew”

**Panel: Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative**

**Theme: Blindness**

These papers explore “blindness” in ancient fiction.

- Saltz, Jared W., “‘Flashing All Around’: The Maccabean Background to Paul’s Blindness and Masculinity”
- Glass, R. Gillian, “Is Seeing Believing? Reading Ableism and Ocular-Centrism in Epiphany (Acts 9:1–19)”
- de Bruin, Tom, “Blindness and Strength: Hyperability and Disability in the Testament of Dan”

### **Society for Classical Studies, January 5–10, 2021; Virtual**

#### **Panel: The Ancient Novel and Material Culture**

- Beek, A. Everett, “Mirrors on the Moon: Lucian’s Sci-fi Technology and Anticipated Innovation”
- Piros, Elliott, “‘Just as Honeycomb’: Queer Money in Petronius’ *Cena Trimalchionis*”
- Hodges, Victoria, “The *Mulier Equitens*: Erotic Display in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* and Roman Wall Painting”
- Waller, Emily, “Dramatizing the Gendered Subject: Examining the Pseudo-Stomach in *Leucippe and Clitophon* as a Prop of Performative Gender”
- Glénisson, Marine, “Glasses and Other Tableware in Achilles Tatius: Making Sense of a Complex Novel by Looking at Objects”
- Blythe, Barbara, “Votive Inscriptions, Aretalogy, and the Epigraphic Habit in the Ancient Novels”

### **Society for Classical Studies, January 5–8, 2022; San Francisco, California / Virtual**

#### **In Panel 13 – “What Is a Woman?,” or, Intersexional Feminisms: Exploring Ancient Definitions of Womanhood Beyond the Binary**

- Hodges, Victoria, “The Rope, the Witch, and the Non-Binary in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*”

#### **In Panel 16 – Petronius, Lucan, and Statius**

- Weed, Ashley Kirsten, “Untangling Quartilla’s Orgy and Sexual Terminology in Petronius’ *Satyricon*”
- Dingee, William R., “Revisiting Satire and Petronius’ *Satyricon*”

#### **In Panel 20 – Eta Sigma Phi: The Next Generation**

- Kilanowski-Doroh, Veronica, “Gender According to Lucian: A Look at Gender and Sexuality in Pseudo-Lucian’s *The Ass*”
- Wyatt, Adam, “Apuleius on the Law Court: A Case of Arceopagitic Justice in the *Metamorphoses*”

## **Obituaries**

### **Hugh Mason (1943–2023)**

I am deeply saddened to inform the Classics community that Hugh Mason, emeritus Associate Professor of Classics in the Department of Classics at the University of Toronto, passed away on March 27, 2023.

Hugh John Mason was born in 1943. After receiving his BA (First Class) in Classics at McGill in 1965, he took his Masters (1965) and PhD (1968) in Classical Philology from Harvard

University. He worked at the University of Toronto for 43 years. He was a devoted teacher of Greek literature and culture in the Department of Classics, where he was hired as an Assistant Professor in 1968 and promoted to Associate Professor in 1972; he also served as both Undergraduate Coordinator (1995–1999, 2008–2011) and Graduate Coordinator (2003–2004). In addition to his contribution to the Department, Professor Mason was Registrar of New College from 1977 to 1992 and Acting Principal of the college from 1982 to 1983. He will be remembered as a kind and generous teacher, supervisor, and colleague.

Professor Mason’s scholarship was wide-ranging. His earliest work was a lexicon and analysis of Greek institutional vocabulary, the topic of a book (*Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis*, Toronto: Hakkert, 1974) and several articles. Much of his career was devoted to the study of the Ancient Novel, especially Apuleius and Longus, and to the history and culture of Lesbos. But he also had deep interests in modern Greek literature and in eighteenth-century music and culture. He was a dedicated member of the Classical Association of Canada, serving as Secretary from 1974 to 1975, and presented more than a dozen papers at the annual meetings of the association, most recently at the 2022 meeting at Western University. He also served as Associate Editor of *Phoenix* from 1995 to 2006 and published numerous articles and reviews in the journal.

I include this link to his obituary: <https://www.hughmason.net>. In lieu of flowers, donations in Professor Mason’s memory to either the [University of Toronto, Faculty of Arts & Science Annual Fund](#) to support student scholarships or to the [Daily Bread Foodbank](#) to fight hunger would be appreciated.

Victoria Wohl, University of Toronto

### **In Memoriam: Prof. Saiichiro Nakatani (–2023)**

It was with unspeakable sadness and shock that we learned of the unexpected passing of Saiichiro Nakatani (known to his friends as Sai) as a result of a cardiac arrest in Ghent (Belgium) on 13 March 2023. Sai was Professor of Greek and Latin at Keio University in Tokyo and Yokohama, and had been a visiting scholar at Ghent University since August 2022 during a sabbatical leave. He was 50 years old. Our thoughts are first and foremost with his parents. Our sympathy also goes to his wider family and his many friends and colleagues in Japan, Cambridge, Swansea, Ghent and elsewhere.

Sai received Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees in Greek and Latin Classics from the University of Tokyo in 1996 and 1998 respectively, and was awarded an MPhil from Cambridge in 2001. Subsequently he moved to Swansea University, where he pursued his interest in the ancient Greek novel and its reception. His dissertation traces the reception of Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* from the late Renaissance onwards, with a particular focus on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In Swansea he was a founder member and inspirational presence



within the KYKNOS research group on Ancient Narrative Literature. Sai was awarded the PhD in 2006, and stayed on in Swansea as a Visiting Researcher before returning to Japan. From those early days, we shall always remember his wonderful company, his hospitality, his sincere and generous interest in the work of others, his reserved, delightfully clever sense of humour, his laughter, and his beautiful smile. Dylan Thomas described Swansea as ‘an ugly, lovely town’, and Sai also loved it, returning whenever he could and proudly displaying the Welsh flag with its red dragon in his office in Tokyo.

Once back in Japan, Sai climbed the ranks of Japanese Academia, first as a Research Fellow at Kyoto University, and then as an Academic Assistant and Lecturer at the Universities of Kobe and Kansai. Subsequently he was awarded an Associate Professorship in the Department of Literature at Kagoshima Prefectural College, and eventually moved to Keio University, where he became Associate Professor in 2015 and was promoted to Full Professor of Greek and Latin in 2021. He taught a wide variety of topics, ranging from Latin and Greek language acquisition and literature, to reception history and comparative literature.

Sai’s passing is a tragic loss for our discipline. His work on the Renaissance and post-Renaissance reception of ancient Greek fiction in general and of Achilles Tatius and Longus in particular is of permanent importance. His doctoral dissertation (entitled *Achilles Tatius and Beyond: Studies in the History of Reception of Leucippe and Clitophon in Modern Europe*) is remarkable for its breadth, scope and attention to detail, and remains a rich and insightful source of inspiration for scholars worldwide studying the reception of the ancient novel. Sai’s publications, both in Japanese and in English, include contributions to academic journals and to edited volumes and range from the reception of Achilles Tatius in Paris in the seventeenth century to the first (and virtually unknown) Japanese translation of Longus (by Gen’ichi Yanome in 1925) and the reception of ancient novels across other media, such as 18th-century opera and 20th-century film (e.g. the article on the reception of Longus in Yukio Mishima’s *The Sound of Waves* that he wrote for the *Festschrift* in honour of one of the authors of this obituary). Sai also published on ancient literature itself, again with a focus on his favourite ancient Greek novels, Achilles Tatius and Longus, but extending to *syncretism* in Plutarch. His very first publication, in Japanese in the *Journal of Classical Studies* (2001), dealt with the presence and functions of doublets in Achilles Tatius, with a focus on the famous opening description of Europa. His article in *Ancient Narrative* (2003) more broadly offers a re-examination of structural problems in Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* and is a must-read for everyone who works on the narrative configuration of that novel. And only last year he proudly announced the publication, with Keio University Press, of his monograph, of which the Japanese title translates as *The World of Daphnis and Chloe: An Ancient Greek Romance*.

Sai will also be remembered as a translator into Japanese: he translated Achilles Tatius for Kyoto University Press (2008)

and was preparing a translation of Longus for the same publisher. It is heartbreaking that he did not live to see how his work would again have made an ancient novel accessible to Japanese audiences outside academia. He was dedicated to such societal outreach, as is clear from other contributions too, such as a column on Welsh culture in a Japanese cinema brochure and pieces on Plutarch, Seneca, Apicius and Juvenal in an exhibition catalogue of a collection of incunabula in Keio University Library (2018).

As a grantee of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Sai worked on the cultural history of ancient novelistic literature. With a recent grant (2021-2025), he was heading a large, collaborative research project on the reception of the Greek and Latin classics in Japan from the early-modern Jesuit missionaries onwards. This project was to result in an edited volume with a major academic publisher and surely promised to become another landmark publication.

As a welcome guest at international conferences and seminars, Sai gave numerous presentations across Japan, Europe and the US, impressing his audiences with his vast knowledge about early modern and modern texts that many of them had never even heard of. In the months preceding his death, he gave two guest lectures at Ghent University on modern reception of Achilles Tatius, Longus and Heliodorus, a lecture at the *Sixth International Conference of the Ancient Novel* entitled ‘One hundred years of Japanese translations of *Daphnis & Chloe*’, and a seminar at the university at Orléans on the reception of *Daphnis & Chloe* in modern Japan. His final talk, less than a month before his sudden death, was a contribution to a KYKNOS seminar in his beloved Swansea, followed by a happy evening among old friends.

Sai’s colleagues and friends also remember him for his insatiable love for and vast knowledge of literature, history, music, and culture and art in general. As a teenager, he spent a year in Paris during a sabbatical of his father, who was Professor of French literature in Japan, and ever since then he was fascinated by European history and culture. He was a man of letters, cultured, knowledgeable, considerate, honest, empathic, distinguished and always paying attention to style and decorum. He combined all this with an infectious joy in life, displayed for example in his monthly newsletters, written during his stay in Belgium and to be published at a society at his former university at Kagoshima. They were sprinkled with nice pictures arranged around different topics ranging from the classical concerts he had attended and the historical places he had visited to academic workshops and his meetings with the research group at Ghent of which he was a member. It is shocking to think that these active and happy months were the last of his life.

We will always remember Sai with admiration, affection, and love. We are grateful to have known him and proud to have called him our good friend.

Koen de Temmerman, Ghent University  
John Morgan, Swan

## Petronian Miscellany

By Barry Baldwin

As often mentioned in previous *PSN* opuscles, in the 1951 film, Petronius was played by Leo Genn. He earned an Oscar nomination for this, as was Peter Ustinov for his Nero (absurdly in the Supporting Actor category). Neither won.

Genn earned many critical encomia for his performance, albeit one reviewer sneered that he had simply phoned it in.

This 1951 epic is the one most people remember. There have, in fact, been several other cinematic (and one television) versions.

Two came out in the pre-talkie era. Both were Italian. The 1912 version had Gustavo Serena as Petronius, the 1925 one Andrea Habay—both have short Wikipedia notices. In the latter, Nero was done by Emil Jannings, famous as the first-ever recipient of the Oscar for Best Actor in *Der Weg allen Fleisches* and *Sein letzter Befehl* (1929).

The Italians also did it as a mini-series on television in 1985, with the Arbiter performed by Frederic Forest. Most recently (to my knowledge) is the Polish version of 2001, with Boguslaw Linda in the role.

Should mention two other cognate movies. In 1969, yet again from Italy, came a version of the *Satyricon* directed by Gian Luigi Polidoro. Also, the 1956 *Mio Figlio Nerone*, titled *Nero's Mistress* in America. In this comedy (I've never met anyone else who has seen it), Petronius is not in it. His insulting letter to Nero about his singing (compared to a monkey's) is instead given to Seneca, played by Vittorio di Sica. But any disappointment is allayed by the appearance of Brigitte Bardot as Poppaea, blonde on screen for the first time, with devotees of Gloria Swanson (resurrected from her silent days in *Sunset Boulevard*) appeased by playing Agrippina.

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Trimalchio's dinner party is the obvious highlight of what remains of the *Satyricon*. How much of himself Petronius put into it is, of course, endlessly debatable. To take the case here most relevant is the discussion of Opimian wine, which may suggest a degree of wine snobbery. On the wine itself, see my article in *AJP* 88.2, 1967, 173–175, with P. Bicknell's supplement in *AJP* 89.3, 1968, 347–349.

It is a pleasure to report that Canada has an Opimian Wine Club, founded in 1973, which offers members the finest vintages.

I've not (yet) found any pubs or restaurants named for Trimalchio (see below).<sup>1</sup> Petronius is the name of a restaurant in Serapetrona and Sorrento, both obviously Italian. Also named for him is the Petronius Garten, a beer garden, in Caxias del Sul, Brazil. Nice to see the Arbiter has a presence in South America.

Not in Gareth's bibliography is an article by Theodore Ziolkowski, "Petronius: The Man in Modern Fiction," *Arion* 23. 3 (2016), 57–86 (available online). Part of it is devoted to a novel *Der Schatten eines Satyrs* by Volker Ebersbach (1985, rev. 1989), also passed over by Gareth. It features a runaway slave called Trimalchio who sets up a roadside outlet for food and drink.

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In 2018 Stuart Gillespie published "Petronius on Dreams: 300 Years of English Translations," *Translations and Literature* 27.3 (2018), 195–222 (University of Glasgow, available online).

I played a tiny role with some linguistic observations, mainly on the Latin side. But Gillespie has 100% of the credit.

Naturally, this has to do with Petronius, fragment 30, 31 in some older editions, 43 in Gareth's new Loeb, plus the small relevant section of *Sat.* 128. It is also worthwhile going back to H. Musurilio's "Dream Symbolism in Petronius, fragment 30," *CP* 53.3 (1958), 108–110.

It may be useful to indicate the translators (in Gillespie's order, chronological except it oddly starts with Heseltine's now obsolete Loeb, no mention of Warmington's revision and too soon for Gareth's), with a few brief comments on some. Gillespie, of course, provides detailed information about each individual and the location of their translations, often in now very obscure and hard-to-get places. He also along the way includes small supplements to Stephen Gaselee's classic bibliography (1909, a lecture published the next year).

William King (1663–1712). Possibly the first English translator of this poem, though still a matter for debate. Johnson included King in his *Lives of the Poets*, observing that his many poems, some satirical, were "Rather the amusements of leisure than the efforts of study." King's translation was posthumously published in 1734.

William Burnaby (1673–1706). Familiar to Petronians for his pioneering translation of the *Satyricon*.

Anon. 1706. Prefatory remarks state that it was the work of "a young author"; possibly done at school, university, or at leisure. As shall be seen, there are several other anonymous versions later. It has been suggested that these translators preferred anonymity to being known as a reader of a work frequently denounced for obscenity. I rather doubt this since Petronius was widely read in the eighteenth century, and various other classical authors had translations of their works or snippets therefrom similarly concealed.

Thomas Burnet (1694–1753). A bishop's son, like Ovid and doubtless many another was intended for the Law, but switched to poetry, much of which was satirical. Posthumously published in 1777.

Jonathan Swift. Probably written about 1724, first published in 1727, reappearing in his *Poems* of 1735, the latter with the text

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Niklas Holzberg notes that there is a restaurant in Puzzuoli, Italy, named the Trattoria Pizzeria Trimalchione (Via Serapide 9,

80078) and a Pizzeria Trimalchione in 72015 Fasano, Italy, on Corso Vittorio Emanuele 153.

used by Gillespie. Swift's "translation" is largely a springboard for his reflections of many other issues, departing a long way from the original. For more discussion, see Louise Barnet's *Swift's Poetic Worlds* (1981).

Anon. 1729. Published in a collection of the unknown author's poems, described by himself as "the very genuine fruits of Love and Laziness." The above remarks on the earlier anonymous apply here also.

Anon. 1729. Published in the *New England Weekly Journal*, fully described by Gillespie and I have nothing to add.

William Dunkin (1706/7–1765). Published posthumously in a 1774 collection of his verses. An Irish-born lawyer, who held several distinguished judgeships. I fancy his poems were the products in the leisure afforded by his retirement from public life.

John Addison. Published in 1736, a year after his Anacreon and Sappho. In previous *PSN* issues, I dealt with him and other early translations. Nothing seems to be known about him. English appreciation of Petronius increased rapidly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Anon. 1751. Published in *The Student, or, The Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany*. Edited at the time by the poet Christopher Smart. Some think this was his work, a theory discountenanced by Gillespie.

Anon. 1754. Published in the *Scots Magazine*. fully described by Gillespie who observes that its published poems normally appeared without attribution.

Anon 1782. Published in *The Independent Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, December 21.

Thomas Love Peacock (1785–1866). Published 1806 in a miscellany entitled *Palmyra, and Other Poems*. His essay "Prospectus: Classical Education" and the Greek names given to many of his characters bespeak his classical interests. His Wikipedia notice describes his humour as a combination of Aristophanic and Gothic.

Robert Gray. This translation was included in his two-volume of dreams (full title too long to record) from classical antiquity on. He did a great service to colliers by encouraging Humphrey Davy to invent the lamp that bears his name.

Harriet Waters Preston (1836–1911), date of translation uncertain, being contained in a 30-volume *Library of the World's Best Literature*, 1917, here used by Gillespie. A much-travelled American, her numerous works in prose and verse, and various translations that include Virgil's *Georgics*, also a study of Roman Private Life.

"Sebastian Melmoth," 1902. I have written at length elsewhere in *PSN* on this mystery. Since this was Oscar Wilde's self-conferred alias, this translation was claimed to be his, no doubt an attempt to boost sales. In so far as there is any common ground, the front-runner is currently Arthur Allison who republished the 1902 original in 1930, his intended audience being collectors of erotica, for some go whom Petronius might have proved something of a disappointment.

Helen Waddell, 1927, included (perhaps a trifle surprisingly) in her well-known *Medieval Latin Lyrics*. Gillespie adds that

Martin Bussy had it in a musical setting in his *Through a Glass Darkly* premiered in 1905.

Jack Lindsay (1900–1990), 1927. A very familiar name to classicists, with his prolific output of translations, novels, and poetry. Australian by birth, he had the honour of seeing his *Satyricon* translation banned by his native country's Censorship Board, in 1933. I have read that Petronius was also banned for a while. Little did I know that I imported a "dirty book" when immigrating there in 1965, especially as I soon had it on reading lists for students.

Alastair Elliot. Appropriately enough for Petronians is his anthology *Roman Food Poems* (2003). This translation was invited by Gillespie for inclusion in this present volume.

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According to a website called The Weekender: Nuit Blanche, Spring Awakening, activities included "a video installation that reimagines Petronius' *Satyricon*." One shudders to think...

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Was *Arbiter Elegantiae* a nickname or official title? Either way, I scent a possible connection with the official imperial office of *procurator voluptatum* or a *voluptatibus*. Although mainly associated with the later Roman Empire, there is literary and epigraphic evidence for its existence in earlier reigns, all this well marshalled by Richard Lim in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 41 (1996), 163–173, accessible online via JSTOR.

Suetonius in his *Life* of Tiberius 42 says this office was established by that emperor, an equestrian being appointed to it. The epigraphic evidences belong somewhere in the reigns of Nerva/Trajan/Hadrian: Dessau, *ILS* 8849; *L'Année Epigraphique* (1972). 574.

So, did Nero follow this Tiberian precedent and appoint Petronius to a similar position? How to translate *Elegantia*? Perhaps "Style," though as shall be seen hard to pinpoint. In *PSN* 34 (2004), 3–4, I asked "Arbiter of What?" It is clear from Tacitus that he was not in the stable of alleged ghost-writers of Nero's poems. Nor was he privy to the emperor's bedroom capers, Nero suspecting he knew of these from a boon companion, Silia.

Nor does it seem that Petronius was a kind of advisory Beau Brummell; Suetonius (*Life* 51) says Nero was notoriously sloppy in his dress, also physically malodorous which seems to rule out any role of personal trainer.

And, of course, no shortage of characters to arbitrate Nero's erotic activities. There was Calvia Crispinilla, said by Tacitus (*Histories* 1.73) to be his *magistra libidinum*. Poppaea, of course. Tigellinus, equally of course. Perhaps also the likes of Vatinius, "the foulest of all age creatures at court" observed Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.34) in one of his most scathing pen portraits. What, then, does this leave?

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Writing to the *Times Literary Supplement* (December 9, 2022), Seth Lehrer describes Mr. Creosote's meal in Monty Python's "The Meaning of Life" as of "Petronian proportions." He goes on to suggest that the wafer-thin chocolate mint that caused Mr. Creosote to explode is "a wild parody of the Eucharistic rite." This caused me to wonder if there are such "deeply subversive" scenes in the *Satyricon*? The boar's cap of freedom is clear enough, but are there more subtle allusions that we have not caught (perhaps cannot)?

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In a book review in the *Spectator* (January 28, 2023), lavish feasts are again described as of "Petronian extravagance." I suppose this cliché is a tribute to the *Satyricon*'s influence. Still, whatever happened to "Lucullan Feasts" which used to be the yardstick? A pity he left no Memoirs—Sulla dedicated his own famous ones to him. The general is famous for rebuking a chef who had failed to produce a lavish meal for more than one—"Did you not know that tonight Lucullus dines with Lucullus?"

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In their delightful compilation *ET TU, BRUTE? The Best Latin Lines Ever* (2022, p. 75), Harry Mount and John Davie translate *tanquam mus in matella* (*Sat.* 58.9) as "like a mouse in a roast pot."

Gareth Schmeling's new Loeb renders *matella* as "chamber pot," his Commentary does not translate the word, adducing Herodas, *Mime* 2, 62–63, where the mouse is stuck in pitch. Burnaby has "trap." "Sebastian Melmoth" (NOT Oscar Wilde, as once alleged) gives "chamber pot." Heseltine and Warmington have simple "pot." Smith, as Schmeling's Commentary, does not offer a meaning, also adducing the Herodas passage. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* gives "pot" as the primary meaning, "chamber pot" as the secondary.

*Matella* certainly means "chamber pot" at *Sat.* 27. 3 and 45. 9. I am reminded of *Alice in Wonderland* (ch.2) where she says, "I am very tired of swimming around here, o Mouse" (sc. "in this vale of tears").

Hard to visualize the strait-laced Carroll/Dodgson approving the racy *Satyricon*. However, an anonymous online article, "The Out-Of-The-Way Novels of Petronius and Lewis Carroll" detects "striking parallels" between the two.

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In Gareth Schmeling's Loeb *Satyricon* (78.2), Trimalchio addresses Stichus "with a hint of a smile," translating the verb *subridens*.

Heseltine and Warmington render as "with a little laugh." Don't smile or laugh. There is a large question here. Specifically, Mary Beard's contention in her (otherwise) magnificent

book *Laughter in Ancient Rome* (2014) that the Romans never smiled.

Incidentally, Beard encapsulated her arguments in *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 67 (2012), 579–596—available online.

Not a new idea, actually, being anticipated by Jacques Le Goff, "Rire au Moyen Age," *Cahiers du Centre des recherches historiques* 3, 1–14, who argued that smiling did not come in until the Middle Ages—not, I should have thought, an age where there was not much to smile about. As Kingsley Amis' Lucky Jim put it in the lecture that cost him his job, "The point about Merry England is that it was about the most Un-Merry period in our history."

There is also the cognate matter of the early Church Fathers who contended that Jesus never smiled. Again, see Le Goff, "Jésus a-t-il rit?" *L'Histoire* 158 (1992), 72–74.

There is little laughter and no smiles in the New Testament. My Abbott-Smith's *Manual Greek Lexicon of The New Testament* instances only Luke 6. 25, "Woe unto you that laugh" for the former and not one appearance of the basic Greek verb for Smile (*meidiaō*). Laughter is both condoned and condemned in various Old Testament passages.

Much has been written on the question of whether Laughter was un-Christian or not and cognate topics; websites on Biblical humour abound. My own published belief is that Christ had a lively sense of humour and surely smiled at least at children, family, and friends.

On a lower level, Aelian (*VH* 8.13) says Anaxagoras of Clazomenae never laughed or smiled. This fellow is not a Roman, any more than Trimalchio was, but the parallel is pertinent. If it is thought odd that someone never smiled, the implication is that people in general did.

By the way, I have read on the British Comedy website that other agelasts include Isaac Newton, Joseph Stalin, William Gladstone, and Jonathan Swift—this last exemplar rather defies credulity.

Earlier scholars have made Romans smile. For easy example, see Page's edition of *Eclogue* 4. 20 (*ridenti*) and 4. 60 (*risu*)—back in a jiffy to this second passage.

Beard's contention was sharply challenged by Roland Mayer in his "The Roman Smile," available online at The Friends of Classics website. His chief witness for the defence is Plutarch, from whom many passages are quoted, most tellingly his Comparison between Cicero and Demosthenes where (1.2) Cato is said to wear "a quiet smile" (*diameidiasas*).

Bear insists that *rideo/risus* always mean laugh, *subrideo* is a chuckle, and *renideo* a beam. As Mayer, I find it hard to differentiate beaming from smiling.

For me, the key *locus* is Virgil, *Eclogue* 4.60: *Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem*. We need not here go into the textual issue of v. 63 (*cui* or *qui*?). Beard rightly takes both passages to indicate it is the baby's action at stake, whilst stoutly maintaining that *risu* means laugh.

There is, to be sure, one bit of ancient evidence that should give comfort to Beard. As I pointed out long ago (*AJP* 97, 1976, 361–368), the emperor Constantine's Greek translation of the



Fourth Eclogue contained in his speech *Ad Sanctorum Coetum* employs the verb *gelao* (Laugh, rather than Smile).

Only fair verdict is the traditional Scottish NOT PROVEN. My own experience as a father of two (one of each) is that both as infants expressed what I could only call a quiet smile, having no memory of them audibly laughing until several months after birth. To be fair, though, I should point to the different paternal memories of novelist Howard Jacobson, “Laugh Yourself Conscious,” *New Statesman* (October 17–23, 2016, 40—available online).

As Mayer, I am no Misopogon—gave Beard’s book a rave review—but have to conclude by saying that I simply find the notion of a non-smiling culture beyond belief. For what it may be worth, the Wikipedia notice of SMILE cites Primatologist Signs Preuschoff’s belief that the smile goes back thirty million years to the “fear grin” of apes and monkeys.

Be that as it may, I think we can allow Trimalchio a Loeb smile.

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Over 40+ years of reading, teaching, and writing about Petronius, I have often wondered what sort of fellow he was in real life?

First, as I have asked before in *PSN* columns, was he married? What would it have been like being Mrs. Petronius?

According to a scholiast on Juvenal’s Sixth Satire, the Pontia who poisoned her children before opening her veins at a sumptuous banquet—just like dad—was Petronius’ daughter.

Of course, one can have a child outside marriage—for more sun speculation, see Peter Green’s note in his Penguin Juvenal: “Father-fixation, the Freudian might say, could scarcely go further.”

Petronius was in Nero’s favour until AD 66. Did he covertly, as in *Quo Vadis*, blame Nero for the Great Fire (see *Maia* 31, 1976, 145–146, where I detected a possible hint at *Sat.* 53.2). Had he any pity for the hideously martyred Christians?

As asked before, just WHAT did he arbitrate? It may be inferred from Tacitus that he was not one of the alleged ghost-writers of Nero’s poems. He did not participate in imperial Boudoir erotic pranks. Nor had he any success as a porto-beau Brummell, given Nero’s famously sloppy dress (well-recreated in the movie version of *Quo Vadis*).

How do people teach Petronius today? How in the present repressive climate, can they? Thank Jupiter, I retired long before this nonsense of “trigger-points” and the like. Is the Quartilla orgy tactfully passed over? I grant you the planned defloration of the little girl might well be pared. But things are getting worse. As I write this (February 2023), I am reading about British censoring of Roald Dahl’s childrens’ books, cutting out such descriptive adjectives as “fat” and “ugly”—Farewell, then, the obese Trimalchio and his grotesque catamite....

It had to happen. In the *New York Times* (Fen. 2, 2021) I read about Princeton classicist’s Dan-el Padilla Peralta’s assertion that the teaching of Greek and Latin has been the foundation of

“Whiteness,” skipping over the evils of slavery and colonialism, and other suchlike sins, branding traditional Classics teaching as “an equal mixture of vampire and cannibalism.”

Just where does this leave the Founding Fathers and their American Constitution...?

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Every now and again, I browse the Internet for Petronian oddities. Two eye-catching ones today:

On the “Taste of History” website, though denying the authenticity of THAT quotation (you all know the one, about Business organisation), Petronius is “noted as a soldier, centurion, or sailor,” with 210BC posited as a possible date.

The “White Wolf Wiki/Fandom” site offers this phantasmagoria—extracts only here. Born in Nero’s reign, he was offered eternal life by the Methusala and at his behest went to Constantinople. He became the longest-serving Quaestor of the Tribunal, working for five hundred years or so with the “late Septima Dominica and Symeon of the Obertus to protect Constantinople from its foreign foes. He died in unknown circumstances after the 1204 sack of the city.”

Please, can any PSN reader give me enlightenment on this fabulous farrago?

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At *Satyricon* 52. 9, when Trimalchio plays Syrus the mime, a chorus of slaves sings *Madeia Perimadeia*. There have been many suggested explanations, inducing one by myself in *Emerita* 52 (1984), 295–296. An intricate analysis which need not be repeated here. Gareth Schmeling in his magnificent Commentary dubs all these “More like hopeless resolutions.” As does Smith *ad loc.*, his own remedy cites Theocritus 2.6 and Propertius 2.4.8.

I think Bücheler may have been right to print the words in Greek rather than Latin. I have no pat solution either. My original one was based on Greek words that translate as “Baldy, Baldy.” I now wonder if *madeia* might echo *ma Dia*? The other word could be a corruption of some Greek verb, perhaps saluting (or otherwise) Trimalchio’s performance. Of course, since Trimalchio was aping Syrus, it would equally make sense that the slaves would chant some actual words from one of his mimes.

However, the big news here is that, if you go to a website called *Satyricon Circus*, you will find lyrics and music for a song called “Madeia, Perimadeia,” performed by one Renato Giordano.

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In *Quo Vadis* (novel and movie), Petronius privately ridicules Nero’s poetry (one thinks of Jack Kerouac describing his own verse as “pomes”), whilst in literary discussions with the emperor, he adroitly ventures on some criticisms as preludes to extravagant praise.

His death-couch letter to Nero heaps scorn on the imperial productions, a departure from Tacitus who states that this post-mortem missive was a catalogue of Nero's erotic Bedroom frolics, the emperor being puzzled as to how the Arbiter knew about them—clearly not part of the Elegances he pronounced upon.

What did Petronius really think of Nero's compositions? Were they reflected in some of Trimalchio's lamentable efforts? Was he one of the ghost-writers alleged by Tacitus who collectively strung out Nero's own lines, much derided by the historian? This was, of course, countered by Suetonius who claims he'd seen Nero's own poetic notebooks with Nero's own deletions and erasures. Did he attend the emperor's public concerts? One presumes he endured the cantatory Trojan song over the burning of Rome—Nero 'fiddling' and all that...

Nero did have one ardent fan: Vitellius. As a courtier, he must have been one of the loudest applauders, and (Petronius possibly apart) the most sincere. As emperor, he (says Suetonius), after making public funerary offerings to the late ruler, he commanded a flute-player at dinner to play "Something from the Master's Book (*librum dominicum*)" and when he heard Nero's words he literally jumped for joy.

So, there was a collection of Nero's poems. It seems to have been in circulation for some time, since a scholiast on Lucan 3.261 quotes three lines from Book One of a Nero poem about the disappearing River Tigris:

*Quique pererratam subductus Persida Tigris  
deserit et longo terrarum tractus hiatu  
reddit quaesitas iam non quaerentibus undas.*

In his notable article on this (CQ 41, 1991, 269–272) Michael Dewar thinks it is "overwhelmingly likely" that this comes from Nero's Trojan epic, though later confessing that this "cannot be quite certain."

Indeed, not. Lucan's lines have nothing to do with Troy, burning or otherwise. Dewar may also be too confident in asserting that his Trojan epic was the only one comprising more than one book. It is worth noting that the two passages share the words *hiatu* and *undae/undas*, whilst Lucan also talks about *occultos cursus*. Was Nero imitating Lucan or (dare we suggest?) vice versa?

I leave this as that. The present discussion of Nero's verses is digested from my full treatment in a contribution "Nero the Poet" to *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* (ed. Carl Deroux, 2005, 307–318). See also Geoffrey Lehmann, *Nero's Poems: Translations of the Public and Private Poems of the Emperor Nero* (1981).

I subjoin that Dewar could have enhanced his speculations about Alpheus and Ethiopians by adducing Seneca, *NQ* 6.8.1–4 where he not only mentions the subterranean Tigris and Alpheus but commends Nero for his concern for geological truth which prompted him to send a fact-finding mission to investigate the sources of the Nile.

Dewar says the above triplet is the only undisputed fragment longer than a single line. This is misleading. The following four

lines from Persius (1.99–103) are claimed by a scholiast to be Nero's:

*Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis  
et raptus vitulo caput ablatura superbo  
Bassaris et lyncem maenas flexura corymbis  
euhion ingeminat reparabilis adsonat echo.*

Other scholiasts, however, maintain they are actually Persius' own. The same Neronian attribution also applies to these foregoing lines (93–95):

*....Berecinthius Attis  
et qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin  
...costam subduximus Appenino.*

Again, if correct, who is imitating whom? In his 1893 edition of Persius, John Conington deplored these Neronian connections: "The supposed allusions to Nero's poetical character in the first satire shrink almost to nothing in the light of a searching criticism."

Edward Courtney takes the same tack. By contrast Bücheler and Morel in their collection of poetic fragments accepted Neronian authorship. It should also be noted that the Suetonian Life of Persius states that he actually attacked Nero in verse but later on the advice of Cornutus backtracked.

Seneca, *NQ* 1.5.6, quotes this single line, praising it as written *disertissime*, a verdict endorsed by M. P. Charlesworth as "a very reasonable line":

*Colla Cytheriacae splendent agitata columbae.*

In his Life of Lucan, Suetonius reports how when the poet let out a tremendous fart in a public lavatory he shouted out this Neronian hemistich *sub terris tonuisse putes*, causing the other people there to flee in panic.

Writing about the properties of amber, Pliny (*NH* 47.50) says Nero in a poem described the ringlets of Poppaea's hair as *sucinosa*.

Some have wondered why Nero would write such a poem. Why not? Before he kicked her to death whilst pregnant, Nero had loved her to distraction ever since he detached her from Otho.

For the general picture all this, see the 1979 PhD thesis of Ana Victoria Soady, "Petronius' *Satyricon* as Evidence for Doctrines of Taste in The Age of Nero"—available online.

Such are the meagre remains of Nero's verses. How good were they? From their aforementioned remarks, I infer they were well thought of in some ancient quarters. Again, the allusions to them by late commentators suggests the *Liber Dominicus* was long in circulation. There was a time when my more callow undergraduates found it hard to believe that bad people could be good artists, unaware of the cornucopia of examples provided by History.

Good or bad, I regret their loss as much as I do the Memoirs of his mother Agrippina and those of the dictator Sulla.

Nero penned other poems which have gone unquoted. It is pertinent here to mention his lampoon *Luscio* (One-Eyed Man) said by Suetonius to have been aimed at the praetor Claudius Pollio. This brings to mind the Notorious Fabricus Veiento, exiled under Nero for his satirical versus targeting senators and priests. Why did Nero not intervene on his side? He would surely have enjoyed such things. Perhaps he harboured a resentment against a poetic rival, as with Lucan...?

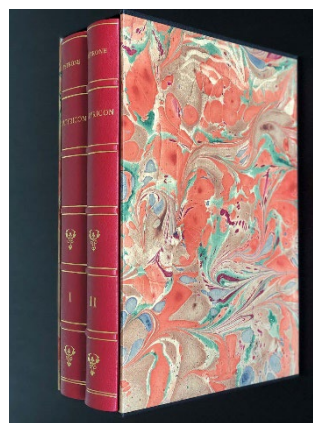
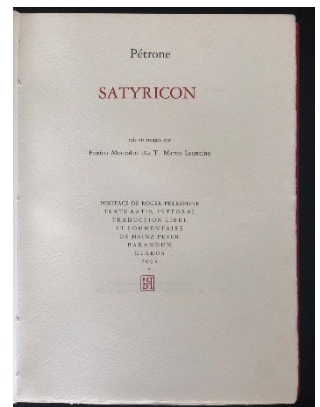
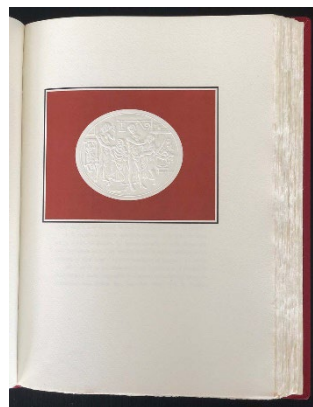
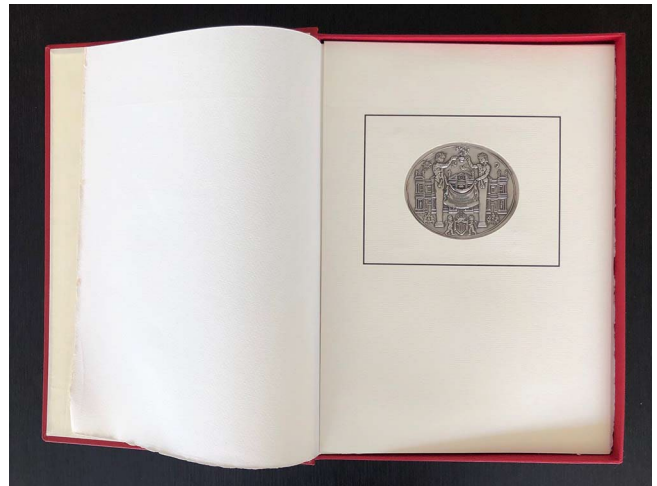
## Reviews, Articles, and Dissertations<sup>2</sup>

### **Satyricon – A New French Translation in an Exclusive Limited Edition**

More than twenty years ago, the Swiss businessman Heinz Peter Barandun (1940–2020), a profound connoisseur and collector of Petronius' *Satyricon* and member of the Petronian Society, completed his new French translation of this classic Latin text. Together with the Italian artist Enrico Montalto (1920–2000, anagram of T. Marco Leontino), the last descendant from a noble Neapolitan family, he created an outstanding new edition, limited to 99 copies, in which Barandun's new French version is preceded by the original Latin text. The cameo-like erotic vignettes, for which Montalto worked for almost twenty years, are of most excellent beauty and accompany the fifteen chapters in a most sensitive and congenial way. None less than the French philosopher Roger Peyrefitte (1907–2000) contributed a postscript in which he emphasizes the accurateness of Barandun's translation in relation to the original Latin.

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### **Hales-Brittain, S. (2022). *The Visual, The Verbal, and The Moral: Ekphrasis of Beauty in the Ancient Greek Novels*. PhD diss., The University of Iowa**

This dissertation uses close reading to examine the *ekphrasis* of beautiful women in the five "ideal" ancient Greek novels, the ways in which these *ekphrasis* manifest the ancient rhetorical *topos* of competition between the visual and verbal arts, and the lessons in moral viewership which these passages convey. I argue that the novels' *ekphrasis* of beautiful women and

<sup>2</sup> The summaries of the dissertations are from the data supplied by *Pro Quest* or *WorldCat*.



the scenes of love at first sight that often accompany them reveal the qualities which one must possess to view beautiful women appropriately. These novels encourage readers to view women as would a traditional *pepaideumenos*, in a way which brings about social as well as individual goods.

The *pepaideumenos*, as I will show, lives out the philosophical middle way described by Socrates in Plato's *Phaedrus*. The complications of problematic protagonists and virtuous antagonists, I argue, force the reader to actively engage with questions of ethics and social morality, rather than passively absorb the moral message of the novels. Through descriptions of and reactions to beautiful women in the narratives, the novelists convey that the *παιδεία* and *σωφροσύνη* necessary to read and comprehend the novels fully are also necessary to live virtuously and to have a successful life out in the world.

With particular attention to the passages in which (reactions to) visual or verbal beauty play(s) a large role, Chapter 2 considers the protagonists' love-at-first-sight meeting. Chapter 3 examines comparisons of the heroines to works of visual art. Chapter 4 explores the antagonists' viewing of and reaction to the heroines. I also consider key vocabulary choices made by the novel authors in these passages, their relation to the novel as a whole, and the broader rhetorical context of verbalizing a visual experience. My final chapter explores the ramifications of a metaliterary interpretation in which viewing the heroines signifies reading the novels themselves.

**Hébert, Séléna (2021). *Les Personnages dans les Métamorphoses d'Apulée: Miroirs de l'itinéraire du héros*. PhD diss., Sorbonne Université**

Apulée construit ses personnages de manière fort complexe. En effet, non seulement, ils sont redevables d'une importante tradition littéraire et orale, mais en plus le romancier choisit avec art les éléments empruntés: ses personnages sont les acteurs et narrateurs des différents niveaux de narration qu'ils relient les uns les autres grâce au jeu de la *uariatio*. Ils constituent ainsi une société violente et en proie aux passions, dans laquelle Lucius ne trouve pas sa place. C'est pourquoi, nous pouvons comprendre le choix final du héros de devenir dévot et membre actif du clergé isiaque en analysant les personnages du roman. Ainsi, les premiers, circulatores et magiciens en tout genre, mènent Lucius à sa métamorphose en âne. Les divinités autres qu'Isis et Osiris ont toutes des défauts qui le détournent d'elles et le conduisent à s'en remettre aux divinités égyptiennes. Ce faisant, il renonce à un mode de vie dont les différents aspects sont incarnés par des personnages qui lui permettent de s'en détacher: épouses, maris, patres familias qui gèrent leurs affaires, entretiennent des relations de sociabilité et mènent une carrière politique. Le foisonnement des personnages qui se répondent les uns les autres trouve donc sa cohérence dans l'orientation que ceux-ci donnent au parcours du héros: ils justifient son choix d'adopter un mode de vie atypique en devenant isiaque.

**Morley, Robert Kyle. (2021). *Imagining Wealth and Poverty in the Fictional Works of Petronius and Apuleius*. PhD diss., University of Iowa**

The purpose of this study was to explore how wealthy, upper class Roman authors use the themes of wealth and poverty in their works and to assess the information that they provide us about the realities of being poor in the ancient world. The focus of the study was on the novels of Petronius and Apuleius, two authors from the first two centuries CE. I ultimately argue that while we can extract some information about the poor from these two novels, we must be cautious and consider how literary themes and traditions influenced the representation of wealth and poverty in them.

Chapter one reviews scholarship on poverty in the ancient world. This chapter moves beyond the few general studies on ancient poverty to discuss other perspectives such as legal issues involving the poor, the health and diet of the larger Roman populace, land and housing considerations, depictions of the poor in art, and views of the poor in Christian texts. The purpose of this chapter is to summarize current research on ancient poverty and to provide context for the remaining chapters.

Chapter two focuses on Petronius' *Satyricon*. This novel has a reputation for being a realistic portrayal of low-life culture. The main characters are of limited means and are liars and thieves. Trimalchio, the famous portrayal of the *nouveaux-riche* freedman, is perhaps the most well known character in the novel. This chapter examines Petronius' portrayal of the poor and asks why he portrays them as squalid, ugly, and immoral. Moreover, the chapter also investigates how Petronius portrays the rich and argues that he is just as critical of the rich as he is of the poor.

Chapter three analyzes Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, with some comparison also to his *Apology*, which contains a philosophical encomium of poverty. The *Metamorphoses* ends with the main character, Lucius, becoming a devotee to the gods Isis and Osiris. Scholars are divided on how we ought to interpret the ending of novel. This chapter argues that Apuleius' portrayal of poverty suggests a satirical intention by having Lucius become a religious devotee. The novel is not a story of redemption, as some have argued.

**Murray, Robin. (2021). *Ad Mortem Via: Death in the Satyricon of Petronius*. PhD diss., University of California, Irvine**

The theme of death pervades the *Satyricon*, a Roman novel written by Petronius in the second half of the first century C.E. that exists today largely in fragmentary form. This dissertation investigates the role of death in the *Satyricon*, particularly its philosophical, sociological and symbolic representations of death. While other studies have addressed aspects of the subject, this dissertation seeks to synthesize much of the disparate scholarship and draw new conclusions. The chapters are thematic, ordered from the most tangible and concrete to the most abstract treatments of death in the *Satyricon*. In the first chapter, "actual death," the characters' own deaths and experiences of death provide insights into Roman perspectives on the relationship of



the body and soul, views of the afterlife, and funerary practices. The second chapter, “apparent death,” examines the purposeful staging of death—a frequent occurrence in the narrative that reveals, in particular, the influence of the mime genre on the *Satyricon*. Petronius’s satirization sheds light on such subjects as suicide in ancient Rome and the expected and actual sexual behavior of Roman widows. The third chapter, “anticipating death,” focuses on the philosophical, spiritual and practical methods employed and satirized by its characters, such as the Stoics’ methods of death preparation, initiation into mystery cults and the building of tombs. The fourth chapter, “symbolic death,” examines less obvious evocations of death, especially impotence and infertility, and how these are rooted in the real anxieties caused by the high death rates and the decreasing populations of small Roman towns in the imperial period. This study concludes that one may focus on the serious philosophical, sociological and literary aspects of death without losing sight of the fact that the *Satyricon* was meant primarily to entertain. For Petronius, death and humor were entirely compatible.

**Yingling, Erik. (2022). *The Metamorphic Imagination: The Art of Transformation and Enchantment in the Mediterranean and North Africa (c. 300 BCE – 300 CE)*, PhD diss., Stanford University**

This dissertation examines the art and imagination of metamorphosis in the Mediterranean and North Africa (c. 300 BCE – 300 CE). My approach explores the perceptual culture of change—the imaginative and sensory encounters of images of mythical change—while focusing on the imagination’s disenchantment or enchantment. The study tells a new story about the metamorphic image; not just how static images might represent changing forms (into plants, animals, new genders, etc.) in a rationally ordered way, but how images depicted paradoxical and wondrous relationships between body and soul. It shows how images enticed viewers to imagine visible skins yet hidden souls, bodily materiality yet spiritual incorporeality, and unchanging identity amid a world of changing forms. More broadly, this study demonstrates how the metamorphic image became entangled in ancient debates about the enchantment or disenchantment of the gods, bodies, and the natural world. On the one hand, rationalist philosophers and historians often clashed with mythical tradition, pitting changes in the natural world against supernatural change. Engaging with rationalist discourses about sensory experience, motion, and myth reveals a new approach to rationalist polemics of the metamorphic image. Disenchantment occurred not simply through the creation of new artistic scenes or iconoclastic pursuits but as a perceptual stratagem, which employed optical tricks (anamorphosis, distant versus close looking, etc.) to debunk the strange or miraculous. On the other hand, I show how many images of metamorphosis enticed viewers into a state of enchantment, that is, a kind of reverie in magical, metaphysical, or irrational possibilities. We witness material qualities that envision embodiment and flux; shifting conditions of light and shadow that elicit spirits or phantoms; and how formal prototypes and

drunkenness might conjure hallucinatory illusions of metamorphosis. The narrative also shows how enchantment spread abroad. Roman subjects fell under the spell of Egyptomania and masqueraded as embodied icons of mythical change. Meanwhile, travelers imagined freakish petrified faces amid windswept rocky landscapes. Examining the perceptual culture of metamorphic imagery ultimately reveals its fraught position amid contests over rationality and enchantment, bodily change and soulful presence, natural change and supernatural wonders. This narrative unfolds in four chapters. Chapter one explores two different types of metamorphic imagery. First, I examine how an image’s materiality could envision the soul’s ascension during its apotheosis. Second, I explore how artworks could prompt viewers to imagine souls hidden within animal forms through an image’s physiognomic qualities. Chapter two probes the relationship between rationalism and the metamorphic imagination, showing how some metamorphic images allowed for the disenchantment of the miraculous. Chapter three investigates metamorphic imagery represented primarily in the spectator’s imagination. During symposia, Bacchic imagery prompted viewers to imagine hallucinatory delusions of animality and transformation. In the wilderness, travelers encountered pareidolia: they imagined faces and forms in the landscape’s chance imagery and debated whether these were the relics of petrifications or other miraculous changes. Lastly, chapter four takes its inspiration from Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses* by exploring the mysterious qualities of masquerades and their relationship to metamorphic change in Greco-Roman Egypt.