

Ancient Narrative
Volume 1 (2000–2001)

ANCIENT NARRATIVE

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Editors' notes

It is appropriate that the appearance of this first printed volume of *Ancient Narrative (AN)* should be celebrated with a combined editors' preface by the four members of the editorial board. Gareth Schmeling, Stephen Harrison and I open with a few statements, and Heinz Hofmann rounds off with a more extensive *Geleitwort*. His prefatory essay expands on the developments which have led up to the founding of this journal, and introduces the reader to the contents of this volume; moreover, being written in German, it illustrates that *AN* is not exclusively English, but aspires to be truly international. We welcome contributions in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish.

We express our gratitude to those authors who pioneered contributions to the first electronic issues of *AN*, and whose essays now appear in print. We also thank those colleagues who graciously accepted our invitation to join the advisory board, and thus showed both their confidence in this new undertaking and their willingness to give advice. A special word of thanks goes to Jean Alvares, who has been actively involved from the start, and who has lent us invaluable assistance in various matters, for instance in making the *Petronian Society Newsletter* and its bibliographical archives available on the Website of *AN*. The foundation of *AN* would not have been possible without the steady support of Alex Klugkist, the University Librarian of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, member of the steering committee. His advice at various stages can hardly be over-estimated. All this support has been so welcome, “... *tantisque datur spes maxima coeptis*”.¹

Maaïke Zimmerman

A group of scholars is joining together to begin a new journal. These are perhaps inauspicious times to inaugurate such a venture, but the need for such action is great. The impetus to start a new journal begins with need, the

¹ “... and the highest hope is allowed for so great an undertaking”: Valerius Maximus 1, 242.

need to respond to the growing interest in ancient narrative. The editors of *Ancient Narrative* do not face anything like the problems which confronted Bruno Snell when he started *Antike und Abendland* in Hamburg in December 1944: we do not have a shortage of ink and paper, no one is dropping bombs on us, and we have electricity and water (see Snell's *Vorwort* to volume 1 of *A&A*). We assure the readers of *Ancient Narrative*, however, that we do have the determination to make excellence the number one criterion of this journal, and to show that even in an age of great intolerance, the secular humanism of Classics is a civilizing force.

Gareth Schmeling

Ancient Narrative (AN) offers not only a niche journal for all those interested in Greco-Roman prose fiction and associated literary traditions, but also a 'one-stop shop' for contacts, information and bibliography in this important, exciting and still growing academic area. In these functions it both continues and expands the honourable traditions of the *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* and of the *Petronian Society Newsletter* (the latter of which retains its own sector of the AN website). With the website as the journal's key aspect and the expertise of Roelf Barkhuis, the electronic form in particular will make AN rapidly and easily available to the twenty-first century community it serves worldwide.

Stephen Harrison

Geleitwort

Seit ihrem Start im April 1986 haben sich die Tagungen der "Groningen Colloquia on the Novel" zu einem *jour fixe* entwickelt, der zahlreiche über den antiken Roman und seine Wirkungsgeschichte arbeitende Forscherinnen und Forscher regelmäßig nach Groningen geführt hat, wo sie ihre Ergebnisse in Referaten vorstellen oder sich in den Diskussionen und Gesprächen am Rande der Colloquia über den neuesten Stand und die Entwicklungen auf dem Gebiet des antiken Romans informieren konnten.

Die seit 1988 im Verlag von Egbert Forsten in Groningen regelmäßig erscheinende Reihe der *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, deren regenbogenschillernde Farbenvielfalt in jeder wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek sofort ins Auge sprang, vereinigte einen großen Teil der auf jenen Tagungen gehaltenen Vorträge und entwickelte sich zu einem unverzichtbaren

Vademecum für die Forschung zum antiken Roman, die jeder, der über den antiken Roman arbeitete, zur Kenntnis nehmen mußte, wollte er oder sie sich nicht dem Vorwurf mangelnder Kenntnis des neuesten Forschungsstandes aussetzen.

Ich freute mich, daß auch nach meinem Wechsel an die Universität Tübingen im Jahre 1993 die Colloquia, wenn auch in verändertem Rhythmus – nur einmal jährlich, dafür aber über zwei Tage sich erstreckend – fortgesetzt wurden und auch weitere Bände in der Reihe der *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* erscheinen konnten, bei denen mir Maaïke Zimmerman (ab Band VII, 1996) als Mitherausgeberin zur Seite getreten ist.

Die Colloquia und die Publikation der Bände waren auch weiterhin eng mit der Arbeit der Groninger Apuleiusgruppe verbunden: Während die Gruppe seit 1993 mit dem Kommentar zu Amor und Psyche (*Met.* 4, 28 – 6, 24) beschäftigt war, erschienen 1995 der Kommentar zu Buch IX, der von Mitgliedern der Gruppe insgesamt verfaßt wurde,² und zwei weitere Kommentare, die als Dissertationen von mir betreut worden waren und nun in erweiterter Fassung in die Reihe der *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius* aufgenommen wurden: im Jahre 2000 der Kommentar zu Buch X von Maaïke Zimmerman³ und 2001 der zu Buch II von Danielle van Mal-Maeder.⁴ Für 2003 ist das Erscheinen des zweibändigen Kommentars zu Amor und Psyche vorgesehen⁵ – aus der Arbeit der Gruppe berichtet inzwischen ein höchst informativer Begleitband mit 12 Beiträgen zu einigen der zahlreichen Probleme dieser vieldiskutierten Erzählung⁶ –, so daß nur noch ein neuer Kommentar zu Buch I fehlt, den Wytse Keulen, ein

² *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius: Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses, Book IX. Text, Introduction and Commentary*, by B.L. Hijmans Jr., R.Th. van der Paardt, V. Schmidt, B. Wesseling, M. Zimmerman, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995, 436 S.

³ *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius: Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses, Book X. Text, Introduction and Commentary*, by M. Zimmerman, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2000, 487 S.

⁴ *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius: Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses, Livre II. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire*, par D. van Mal-Maeder, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2001, 488 S.

⁵ *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius: Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses, Book IV 28 – VI, 24: Cupid and Psyche. Text, Introduction and Commentary*, by M. Zimmerman, S. Panayotakis, V. Hunink, W.H. Keulen, S.J. Harrison, Th.D. McCreight, B. Wesseling, D. van Mal-Maeder, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2003 (im Druck).

⁶ *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass. Volume II: Cupid and Psyche. A Collection of original papers* ed. by M. Zimmerman, V. Hunink, Th.D. McCreight, D. van Mal-Maeder, S. Panayotakis, V. Schmidt, B. Wesseling, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998, IX & 236 S.

ehemaliger Groninger Student von mir und seit 1998 ebenfalls Mitglied der Apuleiusgruppe, im Januar 2003 als Dissertation vorlegen wird und der dann ebenfalls innerhalb der *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius* veröffentlicht werden soll. Schließlich beabsichtigt Rudi van der Paardt seinen Kommentar zu Buch III, den er 1971 als Groninger Dissertation bei Prof. R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma eingereicht hatte,⁷ grundlegend neu zu bearbeiten, so daß in absehbarer Zeit die ersten zehn Bücher von Apuleius' *Metamorphosen* in neuer Kommentierung aus Groningen vorliegen werden.⁸

Damit war auch das Ziel der Tagungen der "Groningen Colloquia on the Novel" erreicht, deren zwanzigste und letzte im Mai 1997 stattfand. Danach bereitete sich das Groninger Team unter der Leitung von Maaïke Zimmerman auf die Organisation von ICAN 2000 vor, des dritten "International Congress on the Ancient Novel", der nach seinen Vorgängern in Bangor/Wales 1976 und Dartmouth College (Hanover/NH) 1989 die Reihe der "Groningen Colloquia on the Novel" zu einem fulminanten Höhepunkt brachte und dessen Acta demnächst bei Brill in Leiden erscheinen werden.⁹

Leider hat sich der Verleger Egbert Forsten wegen mangelnder Unterstützung durch Druckkostenzuschüsse von seiten der Rijksuniversiteit Groningen und anderer Instanzen nicht mehr imstande gesehen, die Reihe der *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* nach Band IX (1998) fortzusetzen, so daß das spektral erklingende Farbenspiel der Bände jäh abgebrochen wurde, obwohl schon wieder einige neue Manuskripte zum Druck angenommen waren, und auch die Pläne für eine Überführung der Reihe in ein Jahrbuch zum antiken Roman ließen sich in seinem Verlag nicht realisieren. Um so mehr besteht Anlaß zu Freude und Dankbarkeit, daß die Groninger Apuleiusgruppe eine Website "Ancient Narrative" einrichten konnte, auf der die neusten Informationen zu diesem Forschungsbereich zu finden sind und in die auch der *Newsletter* der Petronian Society, der bisher von Gareth

⁷ L. Apuleius Madaurensis, *The Metamorphoses. A Commentary on Book III with Text & Introduction*, by R.Th. van der Paardt (Diss. Groningen), Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1971, XVI & 218 S.

⁸ Für Buch XI kann vorerst noch auf den Kommentar von G. Gwyn Griffiths verwiesen werden: *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)*, ed. with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary, by J. Gwyn Griffiths, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975, XVIII & 440 S. (EPRO, 39).

⁹ S. Panayotakis, M. Zimmerman, W.H. Keulen, eds., *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*, Leiden: E.J. Brill 2002.

Schmeling (State University of Florida at Gainesville) im Druck herausgegeben wurde, integriert ist. In Verbindung damit ließen sich auch die Pläne für eine Internet-Zeitschrift *Ancient Narrative* und mit Hilfe von Roelf Barkhuis auch ihre Publikation in gedruckter Form verwirklichen, deren Ergebnis nun als "*Ancient Narrative* vol. I, Groningen 2002" vorliegt, damit auch die weniger versierten Internet-Surfer unter den Klassischen Philologen, von denen es gerüchteweise noch etliche geben soll, das Neueste auf dem Gebiet des antiken Romans schwarz auf weiß getrost nach Hause tragen können...

Der erste Band des neuen Jahrbuchs *Ancient Narrative*, das, wie der Titel besagt, nicht nur die bisher unter die Gattung "Roman" subsumierten Texte behandelt, sondern die ganze antike Erzählliteratur einbeziehen will – selbst der jüdischen Erzählliteratur ist ein kurzer Aperçu gewidmet –, vereinigt 18 Beiträge unterschiedlicher Länge zu unterschiedlichen Themen und Aspekten antiker narrativer Literatur: Neben solchen zu einzelnen Autoren und Texten griechischer und lateinischer Romane – Chariton, Achilles Tatius, Longus, Heliodor, Petron, Apuleius und Alexanderroman – werden auch spezifische Probleme der griechischen Romane, Fragen der Religion und der Geschlechterrollen sowie der Fiktion in der Antike im allgemeinen diskutiert. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit ist wiederum, wie bereits in den Bänden der *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, der Rezeption und Wirkungsgeschichte der antiken Romane in Literatur, Malerei, Musik und Film gewidmet, mit denen sich insbesondere die Beiträge von Edmund Cueva, Paula James, Martin Winkler, Corinne Jouanno, Robert Carver und Hugh McElroy beschäftigen.

So bleibt zu hoffen, daß *Ancient Narrative* sich zu einem internationalen Forum für die wissenschaftliche Diskussion und Erforschung der antiken Erzählliteratur im weitesten Sinne entwickelt, diese Diskussion und Forschung nachhaltig fördert und damit zu einem würdigen Nachfolger der einstigen *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* wird.

Tübingen, im September 2002 Heinz Hofmann

Abstracts

Representing Time in Ancient Fiction

BRACHT BRANHAM

It has been over forty years since Ian Watt argued in his persuasive and influential book that the novel was a cultural creation of the emerging English middle classes and that its salient formal feature was a new, more rigorous kind of realism — “formal realism.” By now his thesis has been repeatedly criticized on both logical and empirical grounds, but it still provides the most common point of reference for discussions of the origins of the novel. Watt’s claim that the novel is as uniquely English, at least in its origins, as it is distinctively modern in its methods still underlies the most ambitious attempts to revise or replace his account. Later refinements on Watt’s thesis have traced the novel back to other literary sources and areas of culture such as journalism or an assortment of popular and ephemeral forms (L.J. Davis, J.P. Hunter, W. B. Warner) or grounded his account more thoroughly in the evolution of pre-eighteenth century culture and society (M. McKeon). Even those scholars (like Reed and McKeon) who have acknowledged the inconvenient fact of novelistic fiction written in other languages in earlier centuries have balked at the idea that such fiction appears before the time of Cervantes. Now M.A. Doody has come along and cut the Gordian knot of origins by annulling the fundamental distinction between novelistic and other forms of fiction such as romance. With that old can of worms out of the way the history of the novel stretches right back to Chariton. What I would like to do here is to sketch an alternative Bakhtinian account of the genre that will do justice to the insights underlying the theses of both Watt and his critics, namely, that 1) something novel emerged in the fiction of the eighteenth century duly reflected in a new terminology (novel vs. romance) but that 2) these texts were far from being as unprecedented as the English department thesis suggests, since novelistic forms of fiction had appeared at least twice before, not only in Renaissance Spain but also in the Roman empire. While the varieties of fiction that appeared in the 18th

century have become canonical examples of the genre of the novel in English, they do have a genealogy that can be traced back to antiquity, which illuminates what is distinctive about the novel as a form of discourse as well as what is and isn't distinctively modern about it. As part of this genealogy, the ancient examples of novelistic fiction (e.g., Apuleius and Petronius) can be systematically or generically distinguished from the heroic romances written in Greek. In other words, novelistic fiction has been invented more than once and, while its earliest examples are still intimately related to romance and other pre-novelistic and oral forms of storytelling, they also provide interesting precedents for what have usually been considered some of the modern and early modern novel's distinguishing features—such as contemporaneity and certain kinds of realism.

‘... largely fictions ...’

JAAP-JAN FLINTERMAN

Among the extant works of Aelius Aristides, there are three texts (*orr.* 2–4) that answer the attack by Plato's Socrates, in the *Gorgias*, on oratory and on the four leading statesmen of fifth-century Athens. This paper focuses on the constant harping on the fictional nature of Plato's dialogues in these so-called Platonic orations, a portion of the argument that is epitomized in the characterization of the dialogues as ‘largely fictions’ (*or.* 3,586). The paper tries to locate Aristides' observations on this issue within the tradition of anti-Platonic polemic, to determine their relationship to theorizing on the dialogue form among early-imperial Platonists, and to elucidate the functions of this line of reasoning in Aristides' apologetic strategy. It argues that, for Aristides, identifying the dialogues as fictional compositions amounts to exposing the dialogue *form* as a pretence. In addition to clearing the way for his own apologetic project and to alerting his audience to the persuasive force of Plato's use of the dialogue form, Aristides thus sharpens the contrast between his own way of handling the dispute with Plato and the philosopher's polemical methods.

Rhetoric and Irony in Chariton
KONSTANTIN DOULAMIS

In the Greek novels there seem to be some straightforward connections between the style of the novels and contemporary rhetorical teaching, which have not yet been explored. The aim of this paper is to show how a comparison between examples of amatory rhetoric from the Greek novels and contemporary rhetorical treatises can help modern readers in their interpretation, by determining the style and tone of erotic discourse in the novels in a way that does not just rely on modern, subjective responses. The analysis focuses on a monologue from Chariton (namely Callirhoe's lament, 3,10,4–8). By correlating the style-markers of the passage with those in rhetorical treatises of the period (mainly Demetrius, *On Style*, and also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Demosthenes*), the article aims to address the question of whether this passage was intended to be taken seriously or ironically, thus seeking to provide a contemporary basis for determining the tone of the erotic speech-making in Chariton. The paper concludes by discussing the likely readership and reception of *Callirhoe*.

Power of the Prude
KATHARINE HAYNES

This paper functions as an attempt to explain the prominence of the heroines in the texts of the five canonical Greek Novels of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesos, Achilles Tatius, Longos and Heliodoros. This paper utilises the anthropological notion of 'woman as sign' to postulate the use of the heroines as symbols of the cultural integrity and superiority of the Greek elites under the Roman Empire. Comparanda such as early Christian texts are introduced to establish the novelistic heroines' conventionality, and the manner in which they act to confirm male subjectivity. Their interactions with figures such as the barbarian male demonstrate their countercultural tendencies as they appropriate eloquence, the defining characteristic of Hellenic male culture, in order to preserve their chastity. Their asymmetrical relationship with the deliberately more passive heroes acts to destabilise the image of marriage as symbol of political stability; an image routinely deployed in Imperial iconography. Rather than prudery, their behaviour is

better coded as the subliminally provocative response of the Greek elites to Roman 'domination'.

Clitophon the *Moichos*

SAUNDRA SCHWARTZ

The rhetorical qualities of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* are often noted; this article argues that the novel exhibits an equally legalistic orientation. The trials in Ephesus that dominate the novel's final two books are a sustained variation on the trial scene, an important *topos* in the Greek novels. The ambiguous relationship of Clitophon and Melite sets in motion a complex legal dilemma. The narrative framework in which the trial scenes are embedded allows the reader to assess the 'truthfulness' of the inset speeches and the efficacy of the law.

Religious Narratives and Religious Themes in the
Novels of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus

MARGARET EDSALL

References to religious narratives in the Greek novel elucidate the relationship between the novel and religion. Analyses show that Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus treat religious themes differently. Heliodorus offers a nostalgic view of religion, connected with his edifying reinterpretation of the love story, and Achilles Tatius offers an ironical view, connected with his "pastiche." Perhaps religious themes go beyond the boundaries of fiction and reassert paganism in a Christianizing world. Ironically, Achilles Tatius' treatment appealed to Christians. On the other hand, Heliodorus' treatment reveals the mind of a pagan about to convert: after writing in reaction to Christianity, Heliodorus became Christian.

Il corpo nel romanzo di Achille Tazio

PATRIZIA LIVIABELLA FURIANI

Questo lavoro intende mostrare come il romanzo di Achille Tazio, oltre ad attingere alle fonti letterarie e mitologiche di cui si nutre l'immaginario auto-

riale e collettivo d'età ellenistico-imperiale, affondi le sue radici nella realtà storica, tormentata e insicura, lacerata da opposizioni irrisolte (i liberi~gli schiavi; i maschi~le femmine; i Greci~i barbari), del tempo in cui visse l'Autore.

Esso, utilizzando una prospettiva socio-antropologica, prende in esame il tema del corpo, che viene analizzato nelle sue ambiguità, prima fra tutte la collocazione tra natura e cultura. Il denominatore comune delle modificazioni subite dal corpo è infatti il cambiamento imposto ad esso dalla cultura. Questo cambiamento conferisce un'attrattiva in più al mondo romanzesco, in quanto consente la sovrapposizione a una realtà prima, trita e banale, di una realtà seconda ribelle alle convenzioni umane, parto di una fantasia che sembra delirare, ma che in effetti si nutre della realtà storica, innovatrice e perplessa, del tempo in cui visse Achille Tazio.

Longus in the *Mir Istkusstva*

EDMUND P. CUEVA

In 1958 Marc Chagall was asked to design the scenery for a performance of Maurice Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé*, which had been originally presented by the Ballet Russe in 1912. It is believed that Chagall had received the inspiration for his Opéra de Paris production and for the "color-drenched" illustrations of Tériade's *Daphnis et Chloé* from his trips to Greece with his wife Madame Valentina. I argue in this paper that although Chagall was thoroughly enthralled by Greece, he nevertheless had been introduced to Longus' novel by his former teacher Léon Bakst while a student at the Svaneva School in St. Petersburg. It was Bakst, moreover, who not only helped form Chagall's conception of art and of the novel, but he was also the person who had initially designed the scenery for Ravel's 1912 production. Ravel, in fact, had no special attraction to Greek subjects. It is assumed that he was familiar with Amyot's translation and that he was acquainted with the artistic illustrations of the novel by Pierre Bonnard and Aristide Maillol. It has also been speculated that Ravel may have been inspired more by Stéphane Mallarmé's *L'Après-Midi d'un Faune* than by Longus in his scoring of the ballet. It was mere "coincidence" that Longus became the subject of one of Ravel's most spectacular creations; it had been offered to him as a project by Serge Diaghilev, the impresario of the Ballet Russe.

The Cinematic Nature of the Opening Scene of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*

MARTIN M. WINKLER

This paper presents a new approach to Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*. To demonstrate the cinematic nature of the novel's opening, its first part translates Heliod. 1,1–2 into a film script and discusses the text in analogy to modern mystery films and thrillers. It then turns to the opening scenes of two famous films, Orson Welles's *Touch of Evil* (1958) and Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* (1960). In a close examination of the three opening scenes' content and style, the paper aims to show that Heliodoros, Welles, and Hitchcock all share a fundamentally similar approach to drawing their audiences into an irresistible mystery. A final part argues that the different account of the opening scene given in Book Five of the *Aithiopika* is analogous to the function of flashbacks in film.

Keeping Apuleius In The Picture

PAULA JAMES

This article explores common motifs and narrative strategies which appear in the work of the second century CE Latin author, Apuleius, and the twentieth century Spanish film director Luis Buñuel. The use of narration to delay nutrition is a vital starting point for the comparative analysis. The focus of both these 'texts' makes them appropriate (though in some senses arbitrary) anchors in what could eventually and fruitfully develop into a wide-ranging discussion: i.e. the extent and significance of culinary metaphors in literary and cinematic narratives within a broad cultural spectrum. Uses and abuses of food and food consumption in both Apuleius and Buñuel intensify the bizarre atmospheres of the stories. By means of diversionary and supernatural tales my chosen storytellers encourage their audiences to embrace credulity and to question the reality of appearances and consequently they subvert faith in the real world. In their hands magic and the surreal is an experimental strategy for producing a deeper insight into custom and society, not so much a message as an experience for the reader and the viewer, and one which shakes complacency about the solidity of social structures and physical forms.

Quis ille Asinus aureus?

A.P. BITEL

Since the early history of its transmission, not one, but two different titles, have been attested for Apuleius' story of Lucius' extraordinary adventures: *Metamorphoses* and *Asinus aureus*. This raises two separate, but related types of question: what was the original title which designated Apuleius' text, and what might that title mean? While both received titles have had their respective champions, recent scholarship has suggested that the original title may have been double; and that it may have referred either to the long ears, or to the Sethian aspect, of the asinine protagonist. This paper first surveys and extends these lines of enquiry, and then throws several new interpretative balls into the air, arguing for chromatic, monetary, metallurgical, and entomological readings of the title. These readings are as much a response to Apuleius' text as to his title; for it is the text which dramatises and makes sense of its otherwise enigmatic title, even as the title directs the reader's attention to certain motifs in the text which might otherwise have seemed less significant. In tracing the different semantic relationships that develop between title and text, I shall demonstrate that the meaning of Apuleius' title is as riddlingly elusive and infuriatingly multiple as the identity of the prologue's *ego* (*quis ille?*).

Apuleius, Aelius Aristides and Religious Autobiography

S.J. HARRISON

This paper argues that Lucius' narrative of religious conversion in *Metamorphoses* 11 uses and parodies in its detailed comic presentation of a personal religious testament the similar but seriously presented narrative of Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales*. In the familiar tradition of sophistic attacks on rivals, Apuleius is targeting a famous contemporary intellectual and his self-important self-presentation as a specially privileged religious figure. Since the *Sacred Tales* were published at some point between A.D. 171 and A.D. 176, this relationship between the two texts would give a late date for the *Metamorphoses*.

Between Fiction and Reality

WERNER RIESS

The paper tries to assess the historical authenticity of scenes of violence, caused by robbers, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. In order to find out how reliable these fictional scenes are, the method of cultural cross comparison is used to draw a historical tableau with which Apuleius' text can be compared. It is in the very passages where the Golden Ass differs most strikingly from reality where Apuleius' own intentions can be detected. Considerations concerning the phenomenon of fictionality, as practised in ancient times, lead to the conclusion that the robbers do not only fulfil their traditional narrative functions. They have been attributed additional semantic and allegorical meanings: As symbols of danger and the dark side of the world, they show, at least at the actor-level, how much the world needs redemption.

History into fiction

ROGER BECK

The article explores the creation of certain 'fictions' within the cult of Mithras during its formative years in the late first century CE. These fictions include both mythic narratives about the god and their replication in ritual performance. The article argues that, in part, these fictions were generated out of historical (or pseudo-historical) stories and fantasies of the Neronian age, in particular (1) stories of events in both Italy and the orient culminating in the coronation of Tiridates of Armenia by Nero in Rome, and (2) the heliomania of the times, focused on, and in some measure orchestrated by, the emperor himself.

La réception du *Roman d'Alexandre* à Byzance

CORINNE JOUANNO

Pseudo-Callisthenes' popularity is testified by a rich and complex textual tradition. A complete cycle of illustrations was probably attached to the *Romance* at an early date; nevertheless, the ascension episode was the only one to give rise to extensive iconographic exploitation. Pseudo-Callisthenes'

literary influence was more many-sided, although it has often been overestimated: quotations and imitations appear in works which, if of a very different character, belong nearly all to popular literature: fictional narrative, lives of saints, chronicles – where the Pseudo-Callisthenes was particularly influential, in a direct or indirect way. By studying these *testimonia*, we better grasp how much popular each branch of the *Romance* was, and it appears that the oldest recension (a) was not almost completely supplanted by subsequent rewritings, as often alleged.

‘True Histories’ and ‘Old Wives’ Tales’

ROBERT H.F. CARVER

Taking Margaret Anne Doody’s *The True Story of the Novel* as its point of departure, the article argues that it is only by discriminating between different manifestations of fiction – by exploring discontinuities as well as continuities – that we can hope to disentangle the genealogy of the Novel. Following an examination of Renaissance diatribes against medieval romance and Milesian tales with a survey of the Menippean, encyclopaedic, and epideictic fictions that the Humanists favoured, it concludes that one of the main impetuses in the development of the modern Novel was the recovery and promotion of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* which allowed romance to be redeemed as prose-epic.

The Reception and Use of Petronius

HUGH MCELROY

Petronius’ suicide nearly two thousand years ago does not seem to have killed his literary career. In the last thousand years forgeries purporting to be the lost portions of the *Satyrica* have been published and discredited. In addition to works purporting to be by the author of the *Satyrica* numerous works whose authors use the name Petronius or themes from his work to slander, moralize, satirize, or scandalize have been published each using some, often more than one, aspect of Petronius’ life and work as inspiration and motivation. From the twelfth-century *Petronius Redivivus* and the libelous *Memoirs of the Present Countess of Derby* of 1797 to the 1966

guide to 'low-life' New York, *New York Unexpurgated*, all of the imitations and forgeries explicitly or implicitly show their debt to Petronius through choice of subject matter and emphasis. This article examines how each imitation or forgery, whether convincing as the work of Nero's *Arbiter Elegantiae* or not, attempts to be 'Petronian' and on what criteria some of them stand or fall.

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