

Ancient Narrative
Volume 2 (2002)

ANCIENT NARRATIVE

Editorial Board

Maaïke Zimmerman, *University of Groningen*
Gareth Schmeling, *University of Florida, Gainesville*
Heinz Hofmann, *Universität Tübingen*
Stephen Harrison, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford*
Costas Panayotakis (review editor), *University of Glasgow*

Advisory Board

Jean Alvares, *Montclair State University*
Alain Billault, *Université Jean Moulin, Lyon III*
Ewen Bowie, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford*
Jan Bremmer, *University of Groningen*
Ken Dowden, *University of Birmingham*
Ben Hijmans, Emeritus of Classics, *University of Groningen*
Ronald Hock, *University of Southern California, Los Angeles*
Niklas Holzberg, *Universität München*
Irene de Jong, *University of Amsterdam*
Bernhard Kytzler, *University of Natal, Durban*
John Morgan, *University of Wales, Swansea*
Ruurd Nauta, *University of Groningen*
Rudi van der Paardt, *University of Leiden*
Costas Panayotakis, *University of Glasgow*
Stelios Panayotakis, *University of Groningen*
Judith Perkins, *Saint Joseph College, West Hartford*
Bryan Reardon, Professor Emeritus of Classics, *University of California, Irvine*
James Tatum, *Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire*
Alfons Wouters, *University of Leuven*

Subscriptions

Barkhuis
Zuurstukken 37 9761 KP Eelde the Netherlands
Tel. +31 50 3080936 Fax +31 50 3080934
info@ancientnarrative.com www.ancientnarrative.com

Ancient Narrative

Volume 2 (2002)

BARKHUIS &
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GRONINGEN
GRONINGEN 2003

Graphical design: Barkhuis
Printed by: Drukkerij Giethoorn ten Brink

ISSN 1568 3540
ISBN 90 807390 4 9

Table of contents

Editorial note	VII
Articles	
JEAN ALVARES Utopian Themes in Three Greek Romances	1
MARIO ANDREASSI Il mimo tra ‘consumo’ e ‘letteratura’: <i>Charition e Moicheutria</i>	30
EWEN BOWIE The chronology of the earlier Greek novels since B.E. Perry: revisions and precisions	47
NINA V. BRAGINSKAIA From the Marginals to the Center: Olga Freidenberg’s Works on the Greek Novel	64
GOTTSKÁLK JENSSON The <i>Satyrica</i> of Petronius as a Roman Palimpsest	86
MAAIKE ZIMMERMAN Latinising the Novel. Scholarship since Perry on Greek ‘models’ and Roman (re-)creations	123
STEPHEN HARRISON Constructing Apuleius: The Emergence of a Literary Artist	143
WARREN S. SMITH, BAYNARD WOODS Tale of Aristomenes: Declamation in a Platonic Mode	172

Bibliography

NINA V. BRAGINSKAIA

- Ancient Novel and Prose Fiction: Bibliography of Translations,
Commentaries and Studies by Russian Scholars. 194

Reviews

- M. ZIMMERMAN, *Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses, Book X. Text, Introduction and Commentary*. Reviewed by Ellen Finkelpearl. 240

- A. KAHANE, A. LAIRD (eds.): *A Companion to the Prologue to Apuleius' Metamorphoses*. Reviewed by Luca Graverini. 251

- GIOVANNI REALE, *Botticelli. La "Primavera" o le "Nozze di Filologia e Mercurio"? Rilettura di carattere filosofico ed ermeneutico del capolavoro di Botticelli con la prima presentazione analitica dei personaggi e dei particolari simbolici*. Reviewed by Ilaria Ramelli. 263

- Werner Riess: *Apuleius und die Räuber: ein Beitrag zur historischen Kriminalitätsforschung*. Reviewed by Brent D. Shaw. 268

- Abstracts 280

- Indices 287

- Index locorum 287

- General index 288

Editorial note

The editors herewith present the second volume of *Ancient Narrative*, in which the articles and reviews that were pre-published in electronic version on the website of our journal during 2002, are collected and printed. Our sincere thanks go to all those who contributed to this volume: the authors, and the members of the advisory board whose thorough readings of and suggestions on earlier versions of the papers presented here have been of invaluable help in shaping these final publications.

We also thank those readers who have e-mailed the authors with remarks and suggestions while the papers were on the *AN* website. Here we would like to emphasize that pre-publication on the website of *Ancient Narrative* aims at encouraging discussion with colleagues and specialists. *AN* should in this way function as a kind of continuous conference. Authors and readers alike may profit from the discussions, contacts, and suggestions resulting from the pre-publications on the website. We feel that too few of our readers and subscribers are as yet aware of this aspect of *Ancient Narrative*, and we encourage all to accept the invitation to e-mail the authors of website papers. In order to demonstrate the advantage of *AN* as a medium for online presentation and discussion of papers before final publication, a set of papers on 'The Ancient Novel since Perry' was pre-published on the website of *AN* in November-December 2002. These papers were meant to function as starting points for a panel discussion at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association in January 2003, in New Orleans. The session was organized and presided by Gareth Schmeling. Those who attended it had had the opportunity to read the complete papers on the *AN* website, and at the panel session the authors only presented short summaries of their papers. This allowed for much more time for discussion. Two respondents, Alain Billault and Antonio Stramaglia, had been invited to open the discussion. Three of these papers (by Bowie, Harrison, and Zimmerman) are now published in the present volume. Given the theme of the panel discussion, it was obvious that all three papers were to deal predominantly with the history of scholarship (since Perry) on the ancient novels. It is a happy coincidence that two more

contributions in this volume, each in their own way, deal with the history of scholarship. One is by Jensson, who, besides pleading for a re-opening of the question of the Greek background of Petronius' *Satyrice*, offers an overview of the approaches to this topic by classical scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries. The other one is by Nina Braginskaia; this article is about the Russian scholar Olga Freidenberg, whose impressive studies on the ancient novels had hitherto sadly remained unknown to scholars in Western Europe. Olga Freidenberg worked in isolation, and Braginskaia's paper is, among other things, a passionate plea for opening up and broadening communication between Eastern and Western European scholarship. The editors are convinced that a medium such as *Ancient Narrative* could and should be of great help in promoting such communication.

The previous remarks on the functioning of *Ancient Narrative* in general have led to the highlighting of some of the contributions to this volume. It is, we think, not necessary to summarize all articles further, and we refer our readers to the abstracts and indexes at the end of the book.

As has been announced on our website, we have changed our method of publication: *Ancient Narrative* no longer appears in distinct electronic issues, but articles which have been accepted are published on the website as soon as they have gone through the process of peerreview and subsequent revision by the authors. They remain for at least two or three months on the website; during this period, readers are welcome to e-mail the authors for discussion and suggestions. Every autumn the articles which have figured on the *AN* website over the past year, appear, revised one more time by the authors, in print in the annual volumes, together with the year's book reviews and shorter notices. Of course, theme-oriented issues of *AN* will continue to be published on the website as separate issues of combined sets of articles; these are later printed in the separate series of *AN Supplementa*. But the opportunity to enter discussion as long as the papers of these theme-oriented issues are on the website remains the same as indicated above for the regular website-publications.

The editors. Autumn 2003

Abstracts

Utopian Themes in Three Greek Romances

JEAN ALVARES

The ancient Greek romances are ideal in more than their protagonists' wealth, high status, beauty, exceptional love and the happy ending they eventually find. Here is a preliminary theorization and overview of a wider explication of the romances' ideal themes. Three approaches are drawn upon to provide examples for such a project: the myth-thematic approach, as exemplified by the work of Northrop Frye, and those of the Marxist critics Fredric Jameson and Ernst Bloch. Myth-thematic criticism highlights those ideal and persistent patterns the ideal romances share with profound myths such as that of Demeter and Kore or with eschatological discourses as well as with medieval and later romances. Jameson and Bloch consider that utopian dimensions exist in all artistic works, if only in disguised and displaced forms. Their approaches help the critic delineate a romance's ideologies (which necessarily employ ideal themes) and its complex 'political unconscious', which, as in Chariton's romance, can provide some serious images of a superior political life. Such an expanded understanding of the ancient romance's ideal dimensions can provide a fruitful source of new insights for scholars and will assist those who wish to teach the romances in the broader contexts of later western literature, art and the processes of historical and cultural change.

Il mimo tra 'consumo' e 'letteratura': *Charition* e *Moicheutria*

MARIO ANDREASSI

Il contributo prende in esame i mimi del *Charition* e della *Moicheutria* e si propone di dimostrare che questa produzione popolare non esclude il recupero e la rielaborazione di temi tradizionalmente letterari. L'epica e la tragedia (nel caso del *Charition*), il mimo ellenistico e il romanzo (per la *Moicheu-*

tria) si rivelano i generi dai quali i due mimi sembrano in varia misura dipendere e/o ricollegarsi: attraverso un'analisi comparativa si riescono a isolare i temi che legano le *pièces* mimiche al repertorio letterario e a verificare quali meccanismi intervengono nella ripresa dei modelli. La distinzione tra *letteratura alta e letteratura bassa* appare, alla luce di questo esame, parziale e poco efficace; sarà da preferire, invece, un più flessibile approccio critico, che consenta di cogliere l'eterogeneo processo osmotico lungo il quale si evolve la metamorfosi del patrimonio letterario.

The chronology of the earlier Greek novels since B.E. Perry:
revisions and precisions
EWEN BOWIE

This paper revisits the problem of the chronology of the earlier Greek novels. For Perry (whose hypotheses were formed by 1951 although only published in 1967), Reardon (1969), Papanikolaou (1973) and Dihle (1978), Chariton and the author(s) of *Ninus* and of *Metiochos* and *Parthenope* were writing in the first century BC, and thus to be read (especially in Reardon's view) in the context of late Hellenistic society. This paper bases its arguments on:

- (a) The linguistic features of *Ninus* and *Metiochos* and *Parthenope*, which do not support the early dating given to both by Dihle (when discussing the latter in 1978) any more than the early date for Chariton can survive the arguments of Ruiz Montero (1991) and Hernandez Lara (1994), scholars whose lexical work offers a more sophisticated theoretical framework than that of Papanikolaou.
- (b) On a more rigorous examination of the *terminus ante quem* given by the papyrus of *Ninus*.
- (c) On the *terminus ante quem* offered by the ostrakon (first identified as bearing a text of *Metiochos* and *Parthenope* in 1977).
- (d) On references in Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus and *Ninus* to events of the period 37 – 66 A.D.
- (e) On points of shared concern between the sculpture of Aphrodisias ca. 50 AD and the *Ninus* romance.

It proposes that:

- (i) all four works were probably written ca. 50–70 A.D.
- (ii) Chariton's romance was probably written earlier than the *Ninus*.
- (iii) three were probably written in Aphrodisias and the fourth in relatively nearby Ephesus.
- (iv) the genre should be seen as having initially had only a local vogue.

A second section of the paper adduces arguments for dating Antonius Diogenes between A.D. 100 and 130 and Achilles Tatius around A.D. 140 – 150.

The final section of the paper briefly assesses the implications for this dating of the first burst of extended Greek prose fiction not in the Hellenistic period but in the high Roman empire, between A.D. 50 and A.D. 70, taking account of recent work on the nature of the Hellenistic city and of the culture of the Greek cities in the Roman empire respectively.

From the Marginals to the Center:
Olga Freidenberg's Works on the Greek Novel
NINA V. BRAGINSKAIA

A survey of the ideas and writings of Olga Freidenberg, who was the first one (in early 1920s in Russia) to draw the comparison between pagan erotic novels and both Apocryphal Acts and Canonical Acts and Gospels. She defined a narrative genre standing behind them all as 'Acts and Passions' of a hero. Earlier than anyone in Europe she came to the conclusion that the 'Greek' novel was Oriental in its origin, that the plots of its different narratives exhibit a retentive archetypal pattern which turned out to be a remake of the *legomenon* which can be traced back to the *dromenon* of the fertility cults.

The *Table of contents* of Freidenberg's book on the origin of Greek novel and a chapter from it, which scrutinizes the names of the characters in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* accompany the survey.

The *Satyrিকা* of Petronius as a Roman Palimpsest
GOTTSKÁLK T. JENSSON

This paper argues that Petronius wrote his fictional narrative in the common Roman manner of transforming a pre-existing Greek text. The hypotext, now lost, of his palimpsest bore the same Greek title, *Saturiká*. The argument is constructed in three main stages. Firstly, a reconstruction of the lost opening episode set in Massilia explains both the narrative *persona* of Encolpius and the logic of the story; secondly, a survey of 19th century scholarship shows the ideologically motivated reception of the author, Petronius, in the image of an ‘original’ writer of realistic fiction; and thirdly, some problematic *loci* in the extant text of the Latin *Satyrিকা* are revisited to show the usefulness of the hypothesis as a tool for improving our understanding of this fragmentary text.

Latinising the Novel.

Scholarship since Perry on Greek ‘models’ and Roman (re-)creations
MAAIKE ZIMMERMAN

It is well known that behind many of the Roman novelistic texts stand Greek models. To mention only the most obvious ones, the *Golden Ass* or *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, composed in the 2nd century AD, is based on a Greek model, written not much earlier. Recently even a fresh case has been made for the opinion that Petronius’ *Satyrিকা* might be considered an adaptation of a comic Greek novel. Although the dispute has not been settled, there are strong indications that at some stage in the genesis of the Latin novel *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, transmitted to us in late-antique versions, an earlier, now lost Greek text plays a role. Also Latin ‘translations’ of the Greek *Alexander romance* are known, e.g. the one by Julius Valerius (4th cent. AD). More examples could be added.

In this paper I will take a fresh look at the ways in which Latin novelists handled the Greek models which inspired them. It will be shown that this process is best described as a process of re-creation rather than adaptation. The result more often than not is a new and original text, at the background of which Latin literary predecessors stand on a more than equal footing with the Greek ‘palimpsest’. The thoroughly Roman feel of these new creations is

partly effected by means of an intricate intertextual dialogue with preceding Roman literary texts, especially epic, mainly Vergil, but also his successors. Other Roman literary texts are involved as well; for instance it will be shown that Roman Satire often not only contributes to the characterization of the *personae* of prime and secondary narrators, but also lends a special atmosphere to whole episodes of these Roman novelistic texts. In this connection I will also demonstrate that, especially in the case of the narrating "I" of some Latin novels, the Roman authors have deepened and complicated the issue of the speaking "I", a phenomenon which may be explained by specific developments of the enunciating "I" in Latin literature.

Perry 1967 discussed the handling of Greek models by Roman novelistic authors in terms of the use of 'sources' which were then 'enlarged' and/or 'contaminated' by the Latin authors, the result being described as more or less successful patchwork. Since Perry a number of studies have, through various approaches, helped to establish the insight that the Roman novels have their own, intrinsic literary value. The independent handling of Greek predecessors by Latin novelists will be discussed against the background of the long tradition of translation and adaptation of Greek originals for Roman readers, and the novelists' position within that tradition will be investigated. Latin novelists were also in a position to fully exploit the heritage of Latin literature including its richly developed art of entertaining a sophisticated intertextual dialogue with literary predecessors. Thus, in this paper a complex and intriguing picture of the relationship of the Latin novels with Greek models will emerge, a relationship which cannot be subsumed under the heading of adaptation or 'contamination' of sources.

Constructing Apuleius: The Emergence of a Literary Artist

STEPHEN HARRISON

This paper aims to be both a contribution to the history of scholarship and a stimulus to further research. In it I seek to follow some key themes in Apuleian scholarship, and to show how these themes and their treatments are necessarily affected by contemporary prejudices, which change over time as scholarship develops. In particular, I try to trace the emergence of the modern consensus that Apuleius is a careful literary artist, and that the *Metamorphoses* is a novel worthy of study and a complex and highly allusive literary

text, a view which has come into being almost entirely during the twentieth century.

The few Roman verdicts on the literary quality and importance of the ancient novels are negative, usually on the grounds that these texts are too frivolous in content to join the serious canon of literature. This early marginalisation is partly revised in the Renaissance, where the allegorical interpretation of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (along with that of other novels) could be argued to confer the deep intellectual significance which seemed to be lacking on the surface, and where some at least admired Apuleius' Latinity, though it was also in the Renaissance that the then derogatory concept of 'African Latin' came into being. From the early modern period to the nineteenth century Apuleius was largely viewed as post-classical, inferior and decadent, whether or not he was also classified as 'African'.

Consequently, in the first half of the twentieth century Apuleius was widely viewed as a second-rate compiler of little literary talent or originality, even by those who did most work on his literary and narrative technique (e.g. Rudolf Helm or Ben Edwin Perry). However, since the 1960's a different consensus has emerged which sees Apuleius as a high-grade literary artist whose capacity for allusive reworking of intertexts and for narrative complexity matches that of traditionally admired 'classical' authors, and his *Metamorphoses* as a major and intensely textured work of Latin literature.

This paper looks at this development in Apuleian scholarship, especially on the *Metamorphoses*, and at its larger ideological explanations (e.g. 'canonical' prejudice against 'marginal' and 'late' authors and genres, more 'liberal' modern approaches, especially literary theory, and the search for a wider range of texts to study), and assesses the prospects for research at the start of the twenty-first century.

Tale of Aristomenes: Declamation in a Platonic Mode
WARREN S. SMITH AND BAYNARD WOODS

This paper suggests sources for Apuleius' Tale of Aristomenes. The many legal references in the tale are consistent with its close resemblance to plots outlined by Cicero in *De Inventione* and *De Divinatione*; in both plots one of two travelers is murdered in an inn. This plot is then embellished by a story of two murderous witches, as found in Greek folktale, who in Apuleius'

version murderously attack the two travellers. The story is further enriched by the addition of Platonic touches starting with the portrait of "Socrates" whose character both mirrors and contrasts with the famous Athenian philosopher.

Indices

Index locorum*

- Achilles Tatius
3.6-8, 61
- Apuleius
Met. 1.2, 186
Met. 1.7, 189
Met. 1.12, 183
Met. 1.16.2, 157
Met. 3.17, 181
- Chariton
1.1.11-13, 10
8.7.3-11, 14
8.8.12-14, 12
- Cicero
div. 1.57, 179
inv. 2.4.14, 174
- Erasmus
Ep. 1334, 148
- Fulgentius
Myth. 3.6, 145
- Heliiodorus
3.16, 20
7.9 - 8.15, 39
9.5.5, 17
- Herodas
Mim. 5, 33
Historia Augusta
SHA Clod. Alb. 12.12, 144
- Homerus
Od. 9,357-359, 32
- Isidorus
Orig. 9.1.7, 147
- Longus
4.16, 24
4.38, 6
- Lucanus
3.298 f., 101
- Macrobius
Somn. 1.2.8, 144
- Petronius
Frg. 1, 94
Sat. 1-5, 114
Sat. 59.3, 119
Sat. 61.3-62.14, 119
Sat. 81.3, 97
Sat. 83.2, 119
Sat. 107.15, 97
- Plautus
Cas. 963, 102
- Tertullianus
apol. 18.4, 187
apol. 23.13, 187
- Valerius Maximus
1.7 ext. 10, 179
- Vulgata
act. 17.32, 187
- Xenophon
Ephes. 3.12-4.4, 39
Ephes. 5.1.4-9, 57

* This index offers only a selection of passages discussed.

General index

- Achilles Tatius, 60
Acts of Paul and Thecla, 68
 Falconilla in -, 77
 allegory, 145, 153, 163, 184
 Alpers, K., 130
 Anderson, G., 68
 Antonius Diogenes, 58, 103
 Aphrodisias, 55, 62
 apocalypse, 17
 apocalyptic discourse, 9, 18, 23
 Apuleius
 ‘African Latin’, 147, 161
 and the Greek *Met.*, 89
 and the Second Sophistic, 163
 Apology and *Met.*, 192
 Greek and Roman backgrounds of
 Met., 181
 Hermagoras, 131
 inner tales of *Met.*, 156
 literary texture in *Met.*, 164
 narrative technique, 165
 Platonism in *Met.*, 184, 186
 Renaissance criticism of *Met.*, 148
 Socrates in *Met.*, 188
 archetypal patterns
 in Greek novels, 66
 Aristides
 Milesiaca, 89
 Austen, Jane, 155
 Bakhtin, M.M., 162
 carnivalisation, 137
 polyphony, 137
 Barchiesi, A., 128, 131
 Baslez, M.-F., 54
 Beroaldo, Filippo, 146
 Bloch, E., 7, 17, 24
 Bowersock, G.W., 58
 Brant, J.A.A., 70
 Bücheler, F., 105
 Bürger, C., 111, 125, 128
 Callebat, L., 160
 Campanella, 17
 Casaubon, I., 105
 Chaereas, 54
 Chariton, 11
 and Korê myth, 13
 and *Ninus*, 55
 political subtext in -, 15
 Chaucer, 179, 189
 Christesen, P., 136
 Collignon, A., 87, 111
contaminatio, 135
 Conte, G.B., 136
 Cooper, K., 68
 Cynic satire, 104
 Dares, 126
 death and resurrection
 in pagan and Christian narrative, 67
declamationes, 172, 177
 Dictys, 126
 Dihle, A., 49
 Early Christian narratives
 and Greek romance, 66
epiphonema, 177
 escapism, 21
 eschatological discourse, 23
 Euripides
 Cyc., 32
 Hel., 31
 IT, 31
 Feeney, D., 132
 Finkelpearl, E.D., 134, 135, 137, 162
 folklore, 180
 folktale, 172
 Frye, N., 3, 13, 16, 22
 Fusillo, M., 126
 Galli, L., 126
 genre, 137
 ‘hybridization’, 136
 Gronewald, M., 53
 Harrison, S.J., 134, 185
 Heinze, R., 111, 125
 Heliodorus, 16
 Helm, R., 155
 Hernandez Lara, C., 49
 Hijmans, B.L., 134
Historia Apollonii regis Tyri, 126
 Hock, R.F., 69
 Hodge, A.T., 102
Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 7

- Huet, P.-D., 149
 Iamblichus
 Babyloniaka, 130
 Iambulus, 17
 intertextuality, 133, 134, 164
 Iulius Valerius, 126
 James, Henry, 155
 Jameson, F., 9
 Jensson, G.T., 129
 Jones, C.P., 54
Joseph and Aseneth, 68
 Kenney, E.J., 161
 Klebs, E., 109
 Kraemer, R.S., 71
 Lancel, S., 161
 Lawson, J., 180
 legal jokes, 173
 Lesky, A., 49
 Levi-Strauss, C., 10
Life of Saint Pancratius, 80
 Longus, 21
 Lucian
 ps. Lucianic *Onos*, 127
 magic, 20
 Marcuse, H., 9
 Marr, Nikolai, 73
 Mason, H.J., 127, 134
 Massalia (Marseilles), 94, 99
 Mattiacci, S., 157
 Merkelbach, R., 163
Metiochus and Parthenope, 52
 Mommsen, T., 106
 Morgan, J.R., 49, 58
 motifs
 ‘Potiphar’ motif, 39
 Scheintod, 71
 suffering, 67
 Münstermann, H., 187
 myth-symbolic criticism, 2
 names
 significant -, 38
 narrative
 ego-narrative, 138
 narratology
 and classical texts, 138
Ninus, 49
 and Chariton, 55
 Norden, E., 154
 O’Sullivan, J.N., 56
 Paardt, R.Th. van der, 187
 Papanikolaou, A., 49
 papyrus fragments of Greek novels, 129
 Parsons, P., 87
 Perkins, J., 68
 Perry, B.E., 87, 124, 131, 135, 138, 143,
 155, 158
persona, 139
 Pervo, R., 68
 Petersmann, H., 162
 Petronius
 Croton in *Sat.*, 93
 reception of *Sat.*, 105
 the freedmen’s language, 118
 Trimalchio’s ‘Greek city’, 117
 Widow of Ephesus, 133
 Plato
 Phaedrus, 184
 Plautus
 Asinaria, 183
 popular literature, 128
 proper names
 Greek - in Roman literature, 92, 113
 nomi ‘parlante’, 38
 in Greek novels, 77
 Quintilianus
 Institutio oratoria, 144
 readership
 of ancient novel, 165
 Reardon, B.P., 49
 Reeve, M.D., 49
Res gestae Alexandri Magni, 126
 Rohde, E., 72, 105
 Roman comedy
 in Apuleius’ *Met.*, 182
 Rosenblüth, M., 110
 Ruiz Montero, C., 49
 Sandy, G.N., 48
 Santelia, S., 31
 scapegoat ritual, 95
 Schlam, C.C., 134
 Schmeling, G., 113, 134
 Scobie, A., 180
 Seele, A., 132
 Sisenna
 Milesiae, 89
 Smith, W.S., 166

social realities
 in ideal Greek romance, 14
 Socrates, 189
 Söder, R., 68
 Sowa, C.W., 11
 Stephens, S.A., 48, 53
 Stramaglia, A., 54
 Sullivan, J.P., 124
Sybaritica, 92
 Tatum, J., 156, 161, 166, 188
 Terentius, 135
 themes
 'Land of Cockaigne', 8
 'ludic society', 9
 exile, 19
 Thibau, R., 187

Thule, 59
 Torlone, Z., 136
 translation in antiquity, 132
 travelogues
 Euthymenes of Massalia, 103
 Pytheas of Massalia, 59, 103
Vita Aesopi, 36, 68
 Walsh, P.G., 112, 123, 134
 Whitmarsh, T., 19
 Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. von, 87
 Williams, G., 92
 Wilmotte, M., 68
 Winkler, J.J., 53, 166
 witches, 175, 180, 187
 Zeno of Citium, 17